

The JOURNAL of the AMERICAN MILITARY HISTORY FOUNDATION

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COMMENTARIES

It would seem that there were no less than two unforgiveable errors in the Summer issue of the *JOURNAL*; neither of them matters for which we can give a logical excuse. Both occurred in the same article, "The Duel on the War Bonnet," and both have to do with picture credits. The first is on page 65: the photographs appearing there were obtained through the Army Pictorial Service, that splendid department of the Office of the Chief Signal Officer, and they should have been so acknowledged. This seems careless enough, but the record really was established on page 67 where we did manage to credit the loan of the Buffalo Bill advertisement to Mr. Harry Stone but caused a bit of perplexity all around by re-christening him "William." This seems particularly dull-witted since we know Mr. Stone very well and continually find ourselves drifting into the cool darkness of his shop on these warm New York afternoons. Here, under the influence of his collection of interesting paintings, prints, and books, many upon military subjects, we are wont to while away the hours during which we should be correcting proof. We hope he'll understand.

It is with deep regret that we announce the resignation, owing to the pressure of other business, of Major George J. B. Fisher from the office of Assistant Secretary. No successor has been appointed by the Board of Trustees.

We have been asked, within recent months, several questions concerning the library of the Foundation and we propose to tell about it here. The greater part of the collection of books consists of those left to the society by the late Colonel Charles E. T. Lull, who, with energy, foresight, and unusual ability, engineered the organization of the Foundation in 1933. As a tribute to his efforts the entire collection has been titled The Lull Memorial Library. Unfortunately, it has been impossible, thus far, to properly house these books; the bulk of the library being now in storage at Camp Holabird, Maryland. A select, but unhappily a not-too-compact, reference library is located at the editorial offices of the *JOURNAL*.

The Foundation does not propose to establish a large or particularly valuable library, were it ever able to do so. Printed volumes of unique interest and manuscript material touching on military history properly belong in the various established depositories. Nevertheless, it is essential that the society maintain a workable reference library and it is with this in mind that we express our appreciation to those members who have given or have promised us their volumes or their notes.

Again we want to remind the membership that the *JOURNAL* is their magazine and that it is designed to act as a vehicle for the expression of their own research as well as to be a medium of interest and utility. We are particularly anxious to obtain short notes and queries, and we are immensely gratified when the post—usually as urbane as it is meagre—produces some good, virile criticism.

We should like to explain that the address used by the Secretary—643 Park Avenue, New York—is that of the Armory of the Seventh Regiment, New York (107th Infantry, N. G. N. Y.). The commanding officer of this unit, Colonel Ralph C. Tobin, has, since 1935, most courteously extended this privilege to the Foundation.

All members must, of course, realize that the present annual dues of one dollar, while sufficient for the period during which the Foundation offered no publication, cannot possibly permit continuation of the *JOURNAL*. Some increase, therefore, is an obvious necessity for 1938. Since we cannot know precisely how much it will cost to carry on the affairs of the society during that year, the change will be, in all probability, a temporary one. While the dues, naturally, will be made as low as possible, it may be that circumstances will permit a permanent figure to be lower than whatever be decided upon for the coming year.

EARLY MILITARY BOOKS IN THE FOLGER LIBRARY

By THOMAS M. SPAULDING

The affable guide at Warwick Castle once told me about the behavior of a "rowze" by any other name. His remark might serve as a text for a discourse on the newest of our great research libraries. The name of the Folger Shakespeare Library indicates its specialty, and will doubtless continue to bring it a heavy correspondence with all sorts and conditions of men and women, boys and girls, interested in the person quoted by my guide; which is not such a bad thing after all, though it is easy to grow humorous about it. There is a possibility, however, that this name may put inquirers off the track, for one whose subject of research has no apparent connection with Shakespeare may overlook a rich mine of information.

It is true that the publicity which has been given to the library must have informed all interested persons that it contains material only remotely associated with the great writer—source books, association books, books containing some passing allusion to Shakespeare—but it is doubtful whether the amount of this material is generally realized. Moreover, it is little known, even in the learned world, that the library has a great quantity of literature which has not the remotest connection with Shakespeare or the Elizabethan drama, except as it illustrates the general state of knowledge and civilization of the period. Mr. Folger, it appears, acquired a large number of books for no reason whatever except that they were published in or about Shakespeare's time. For the student of drama they are background and no more. However, the student of history, science, art, law, philosophy, or any other phase of the culture of the period should not fail to inquire into this library's possibilities before he calls it a day.

The rather obscure specialty discussed in this paper will serve as an example. Our military libraries, like most libraries of every sort, have resources considerably less than their desires. They cannot do much more than keep up with the current literature, neglecting everything which has, or seems to have, purely antiquarian interest. Even the best of them, that of the Army War College, possesses only a modest collection of the early books, and it is quite justified in not adding to it, since the Library of Congress is less than two miles away. The Huntington Library, of course, is rich in the early English military books, richer than any other American institution, but its interest lies in English books, not in military ones, and it has little of such literature in other languages. The Library of Congress, the New York Public Library and the University of Michigan all have substantial collections of both the English and the Continental military books, but there are not many other institutions where one can get anything like an adequate view of this field. Thus an examination of the Folger Library's resources is worth while, especially to ascertain wherein it can supplement the collections of its neighbor across the street, the Library of Congress.

Only books dealing with military art and science—tactics, fortification, gunnery, etc.—are considered here. Other works, even historical narratives of wars and military operations, are not included unless they incidentally give a substantial amount of technical information. It should be mentioned, too, that the examination was rather superficial and that it is quite possible that some books have been overlooked. Only English books prior to 1640 have as yet been catalogued, so that any survey must depend upon a physical examination of the books themselves.

Considering the central purpose of the Library it is natural that the bulk of the military books are of the sixteenth century and of the first years of the seventeenth. Later works form no part of the Shakespearean background and they properly belong in this company only if they contain allusion to the writer or to his works. The total number of military books is surprisingly large, and of some of them there seem to be only one or two other copies in America. Among English books to 1640 (recorded in the *Short Title Catalogue**) there are about fifty distinct military works, some of them in several editions. An exact count would, in a number of cases, be a matter of individual opinion as to whether works sent out at the same time and bound together, but with separate title-pages, should be counted as one or two. Of some books there are several copies in the Library; in one instance no less than five. They were acquired, presumably, on the possibility of their showing variations of text. Nearly all of these were printed before Shakespeare's death; of books which were first published between 1616 and 1640 there appear to be only nine. English books printed after 1640 and therefore not listed in the *Short Title Catalogue*, but before 1700 (the limiting date of this survey) are almost entirely lacking, only one original being noted, and one later edition of a book first printed before 1641. Of books in other languages—Latin, French, Italian, Spanish—there are about forty different works, of which all but three were printed before 1600. It is evident, then, that material for the study of the art of war in the seventeenth century is scanty, but that the number of sixteenth century books is plentiful. The nature and the quality of the works is still to be considered.

In studying the art of war, even of our own time, it is a mistake to neglect the classical writers, for much of what they have had to say will be appropriate until wars shall be no more. A few hundred years ago they were of still more practical utility, for arms and fortification were not greatly changed from what the Romans knew. McMurtrie, speaking of the subjects treated in incunabula, says:

Little practical help, however, could be derived from the fifteenth century books which discussed two of the most important occupations of the time—war and agriculture.

*Alfred W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, compilers, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475-1640* (London, 1926).

Treatises like the Roman Vegetius' *Management of an Army* or Columella's commentary on Vergil's *Georgics* were of great interest to antiquarians but of little value to soldiers or farmers.

This is a misapprehension. The innumerable editions of Vegetius, fifteenth century and later, were not produced solely or even chiefly for the scholar's library or the gentleman's, but for the pocket or satchel of the hard-headed, hard-hearted, practical soldier of fortune. Hundreds of copies must have been worn out in field service or lost in campaign. Of this military manual the Folger Library has three editions. The first of them (Paris, 1553) is combined with Frontinus, Aelianus and Modestus, which was a very common arrangement. Polybius is added to these four in two Plantin editions (Antwerp, 1585, and Leyden, 1592), which include also the valuable commentary of Stewechius on the text. There is a separate edition of Frontinus in an Italian translation (Venice, 1574), and two separate editions of Polybius (Ferrara, 1583, and London, 1634), the latter being an English translation by Edward Grimestone.

Coming to modern works, and considering first those in the English language, we find three editions (1545, 1571, and 1589) of Roger Ascham's famous *Toxophilus*, on which comment is superfluous. Among the other early publications is the first edition (1560) of the first English translation of Machiavelli's *Arte of Warre*, not of outstanding importance, but noteworthy because almost always joined with an original work by its translator, Peter Whitehorne. His *Certain Waies for the Orderyng of Souldiers in Battelray* is dated 1562 and was meant to go with the Machiavelli. The two are sometimes found separately, however, and this is true also of the later editions of both. The Library has those of 1588.

This book of Whitehorne's, besides containing some general discussion of the art of war, is the earliest English example of a type of manual that was in great demand. One or more of these are necessary to any understanding of the tactics of the period. Organization and tactics go together now. A unit fights as it camps and marches. But in those days administrative and combat units were totally different things. In preparing for action all the soldiers were thrown into one hopper, so to speak, and then drawn out to be rearranged in "battelray." It was a hard job at best, accomplished slowly and with "*grands cris et murmures*." It was possible at all only through the sergeant-major general's use of a convenient book of tables, something like an engineer's handbook nowadays. By reference to his tables he could determine at once the number of files, the number of ranks, the extent of front, etc., that his force would permit, thus sparing him the necessity of solving problems like the extraction of the square root at the moment when the enemy's forest of pikes was appearing over the hill. Besides Whitehorne's book the Library has the 1588 English translation of *Most Briefe Tables to Knowe Redily Howe Manye Ranckes of Footemen Armed with Corslettes, as Vnarmed, Go to the Making of a Iust Battayle*, by Girolamo Cataneo (not to be confused with

Pietro Cataneo, who wrote on architecture, civil and military). These two books—Whitehorne's and Cataneo's—are perhaps the most important of such manuals in English. The Library of Congress, Huntington, Michigan, and Newberry have both of them.

"An old fashioned titlepage, such as presents
A tabular view of the volume's contents,"

has a certain charm, but it is clumsy in practical use. Some writers kindly supplied a short title ready made. Thomas Churchyard, for example, gave each of his books a second title, such as *Churchyards Choise*, or *Churchyards Challenge*, or *Churchyards Chippes*, which had the advantage of giving no clue whatever to the nature of the work, so that it might prove a delightful surprise to the reader. Thomas Digges, among military writers, did likewise, tagging his two great works with the labels *Pantometria* and *Stratitotics*. Each of them was a revision and an enlargement of unpublished manuscripts of his father, Leonard Digges. The two books deal chiefly with mathematics and physics, in which subjects both father and son were distinguished, but the second edition of the *Pantometria* and the two editions of the *Stratitotics* have also some military chapters, chiefly on ballistics and artillery. The Library has both editions (1571 and 1591) of the former and the second edition (1590) of the latter. In one edition or another, the Library of Congress, Huntington, and the University of Pennsylvania have both books; the Boston Public Library and Mount Holyoke College, the first; and Michigan, the second. It is interesting to note, by the way, that a branch of the Digges family was transplanted to America, bringing along its characteristic names both of persons and of places. Dudley Digges is a good Maryland name, and Chilham Castle reappears as Chillum, once a suburb of Washington and now merged into the growing city.

From the standpoint of rarity there is little or nothing in the military portion of the Library to compare with its copies of John Polemon's books; *All the Famous Battels That Haue Bene Fought in Our Age Throughout the Worlde*, 1578; and *The Second Part of the Booke of Battailles, Fought in Our Age*, 1587. Cockle knew of no existing copy of the former. Quaritch had one in 1936, which was sold to an English collector. Only one copy of each work (Huntington) is recorded in the union catalogue in Washington.† The earlier book "was so maimed, mangled and marred by the Printer," says Polemon, that he would not allow his name to appear in it. The printer may have soothed him with promises but nevertheless he did put the author's name on the back of the title-page, where it seems that he never discovered it.

†An author catalogue of printed books in all languages maintained by the Library of Congress since 1901 and now containing over 15,000,000 card entries. It embraces the holdings of the Library of Congress together with those of over six hundred other libraries. See Ernst C. Richardson, *The Union Catalog of the Library of Congress* (Washington: The Library of Congress, 1936.)

Another rare book on the shelves is *Of the Knowledge and Conducte of Warres*, 1578, by Thomas Proctor, author of *A Gorgious Gallery of Gallant Inventions* and other books with delectable titles. There is no originality about it but it put before English readers a quantity of information from the ancient military writers, not hitherto accessible. There is no copy in the Library of Congress, Huntington and Michigan having the only ones given in the union catalogue.

A little book of miscellaneous information, of which a copy is in this library and another is in the Huntington Library, is William Bourne's *Inuentions or Deuises*, 1578. One of the devices described was the elevating screw for aiming cannon, instead of using wedges or the still earlier expedient of digging a hole for the trail. This was not original with Bourne, but he claims most of the other inventions as his own. He was in fact a mathematician of high attainment, though an innkeeper by occupation. For the benefit of some future biographer, grateful for any bit of scandal that can be dug up, it may be mentioned that Bourne was once "amerced" sixpence for selling beer in short measures. The *Dictionary of National Biography* appears to think that the offence was a purely technical one, not involving moral turpitude. Anyhow, it seems to be the one blot upon his fame. He was the author of numerous other books, one of which was the first English treatise on artillery. There is a copy of this in the Library of Congress, believed to be the one that the ninth Earl of Northumberland had with him to solace his confinement in the Tower, but none in the Folger Library.

The science of artillery, of course, is founded on ballistics. The first ballistician who published the results of his researches was Niccolo Tartaglia, the distinguished Italian mathematician. Before his time it was the general belief—inconceivable as it now seems—that the projectile travelled in a straight line until the force of the powder was exhausted and then dropped straight to the ground. Tartaglia declared the trajectory to be a curve, and made further investigations in ballistics. An English translation of a part of his writings was published in 1588 by Cyprian Lucar under the title: *Three Bookes of Colloquies Concerning the Arte of Shooting in Great and Small Peeeces of Artillerie*, accompanied by *A Treatise Named Lucar Appendix* on artillery and ordnance. The Library has the complete work and also an extra copy of *Lucar Appendix*—a superabundance of riches, for the union catalogue records only one copy (Newberry).

There are three copies of *The Politicke and Militaire Discourses of the Lord De La Nowe*, 1587. It is a curious admixture of reflections upon a great variety of subjects. Some of the military passages are more quaint than practical, but some are worth noting, and the book had an immense popularity, so that its influence is a fact which must be considered. First published (in French) in 1587, and translated into English the same year, it went through at least nine editions, not counting the modern reprints. An issue of 1612

definitely announces itself as "*dernière édition*," which has an air of finality, but there was at least one more edition after this so-called last. The history of the book is curious. François de la Noue—nicknamed *bras de fer* on account of the iron hook which replaced an arm lost in action—was a Huguenot leader of distinction, fought at Jarnac and Moncontour, was general of La Rochelle for four years, and later served in the Netherlands. Captured by the Spanish, he was offered the option of blindness or imprisonment. Choosing the latter, he whiled away his time by scribbling these reflections, which he threw away. They were gathered up and published without the writer's knowledge. After five years in prison he was exchanged for Egmont, and lived to fight at Ivry. The Huntington and Newberry Libraries have copies of the English translation.

Another translation from the French was *Instructions for the Warres*, 1589. It was ascribed to Du Bellay and is still commonly cited under his name, though it now seems probable that Raimond de Fourquevaux was the author. It was one of the most widely read of the military books of the time, and was translated into Italian and Spanish as well as English. The English translator was Paul Ive, who added to it a treatise on fortification written by himself. The Huntington copy is the only one recorded.

Near the end of the sixteenth century the arquebus succeeded the bow as the standard missile weapon. Gunpowder had been used in war for two and a half centuries, but as late as 1558 the principal English weapon was the longbow and firearms were the exception; while in 1597 it was ordered that men armed only with the longbow should be rejected at militia musters. Of course the final change was preceded by hot debate between the old and the new dealers, and the Library has the principal work on each side of the controversy; Sir Roger Williams' *Briefe Discourse of Warre*, 1590, and Sir John Smythe's *Certain Discourses*, 1590, frequently cited as the *Book on Weapons*. Sir Roger's book is primarily an exposition of the Spanish military system as displayed in the Netherlands and incidentally an unfavorable criticism of the longbow. Sir John's is devoted almost wholly to a discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of the rival weapons, with a verdict in favor of the longbow. Nowadays we are tempted to regard the whole discussion as rather futile and to assume that any opponent of firearms must necessarily have been an old fogey. A reading of these books must make us revise this opinion. The longbow was a really magnificent weapon, and the circumstance that it took over two centuries for the firearm even to be accepted on equal terms shows that the development of firearms into real efficiency was very slow. Even at the time when the bow was abandoned it was still superior in both rapidity and accuracy of fire, and its obsolescence was due to inferiority in other respects. Sir John, it is true, *was* an old fogey, but there is plenty of good sense in his book and his cantankerous temperament makes it all the more entertaining to read. Both books are rare; Sir Roger's through natural

causes; and Sir John's because it was suppressed two weeks after publication. Sir John attributes this to dirty work on the part of Sir Roger, who stood well with the administration. This may be so, but the tone of the book suggests another possible explanation. Not only does it attack the "War Department's" policy, but it also speaks quite plainly about the honesty and the intelligence of the persons in authority there. The Library of Congress and Huntington have both books and Michigan has Smythe's only.

The Library has *The Practice, Proceedings, and Lawes of Armes*, 1593, by Matthew Sutcliffe, which is not in the Library of Congress, but may be found in the Harvard, Michigan, and Huntington Libraries. There is also Edward Hoby's translation of Bernardino de Mendoza's *Theorique and Practise of Warre*, 1597, which is of importance, for Mendoza was the standard authority on the Spanish system. *The Theorike and Practike of Moderne Warres*, 1598, by Robert Barret, is not in the Library of Congress. The union catalogue lists the Huntington and Michigan copies and one at the State University of Iowa. Of the author, it is irrelevant but interesting to note that he also produced the longest epic poem ever written. Written but never printed: there are sixty-eight thousand lines of it.

While this brings us to the end of the sixteenth century, by no means all of the English military books in the Library have been mentioned. There are several of less outstanding importance and several on such specialties as military surgery, fencing and horsemanship. Of the few seventeenth century books three will be mentioned. One is *The Siege of Breda*, 1627, by the Jesuit Herman Hugo, first published in Latin as *Obsidio Bredana*, Antwerp, 1626. The accurate description here presented of the operations, illustrated by numerous plans and diagrams, make it a practical treatise on fortification and siegecraft as well as a valuable history. The English translation of 1627 in the Library is the one approved by Hugo himself and contains the original plates. It was made by Colonel Henry Gage, who himself took part in the operations. It is not in the Library of Congress, which has only the Latin original. Besides the Huntington and Michigan copies there is another at the Army War College.

One would not naturally turn to Henry Peacham's famous book, *The Compleat Gentleman*, for military instruction. Nevertheless all the discoverable editions except the first (1622) have a military portion, as is proper, for a smattering of such information was a part of the general culture of that day. Cockle (*Bibliography of English Military Books up to 1642*) supposed the edition of 1634 to be the second. There was one of 1627, however, which contains the "military observations" not found in the first. There are two copies of it in the Library, one of which supplies a scrap of bibliographical information in an odd way, for in addition to its own title-page dated 1627 there is pasted in it an additional title which states it to be *The Second Impression Much Enlarged Anno 1625*. This edition is not mentioned in the *Short Title*

Catalogue and no copy is recorded in the union catalogue. It is a reasonable guess that its "much-inlargement" included the military chapter aforesaid. The Library has also the 1622, 1634, and 1661 editions.

Henry Hexham, "Quartermaster to the Honourable Colonell Goring" in the Dutch service, wrote the most complete and most valuable of English treatises published up to his time. *The Principles of the Art Militarie*, the *Second Part*, and the *Third Part* together cover almost the entire field. They were originally intended for English gentlemen who wished to enter the service of the Netherlands and were accordingly written in English, though Hexham (who was also the author of an English-Dutch dictionary) afterward translated at least one part into Dutch. The number of editions and their places and dates do not seem to have been exactly determined. They began with 1637 and extended at least as late as 1643. The Hague, Rotterdam, Delft, and London were places of publication. The Library has an edition of the *Second Part* printed at Delft in 1638, which was unknown to Cockle. Huntington, Michigan, and Newberry have this book, but not the Library of Congress.

The bulk of the military literature of the sixteenth century is in the Italian language, and from a technical standpoint there is more of value in Spanish and in French than in English. In the Folger Library, however, the English portion is much the best. Among the Continental books there is a wealth of material on duelling: the treatises of Mutio, Puteo, Fausto da Longiano, Pigna, Attendolo, Alciatus, Albergati, Susio and others, some of them in several editions. The mere catalogue of names is impressive. While books on duelling are usually included in military bibliographies their relation to the art of war is remote. Fencing and swordmanship connect with duelling on one side and with war on the other. The Library has the standard works of Marozzo (Venice, 1568), Agrippa (Rome, 1553, and Venice, 1568), Grassi (Venice, 1570) and Vizani (Bologna, 1588). On horsemanship there are five Italian editions of Grisone and an English translation, two editions of Sansovino, and one of Caracciolo.

Coming to more strictly military works we find only two books on fortification: Ramelli's, and *Della fortificatione delle citta* by Girolamo Maggi and Giacomo Castriotto. The latter is a large folio, more extensive than any treatise previously published. It was first printed at Venice in 1564 and republished in the same city in 1583 and 1584. The Library's copy is of the first edition. The Library of Congress also has the first and Michigan and the New York Public Library the third. There are but three books on artillery, but one of them is the Carmagnola 1584 edition of Gabriello Busca's *Istruzione de' bombardieri*, first printed in 1545 and running through at least six editions before 1600; it was the first book for the professional artilleryman. It is not in the Library of Congress but is at Ann Arbor. Another of importance is Girolamo Ruscelli's *Precetti della militia moderna*, which is largely

on artillery but includes a little of everything—even a description (with illustration) of a pneumatic lifebelt. Ruscelli's tastes were certainly catholic; as to his attainments I am not qualified to say. He wrote on geography, poetry, medicine and sundry other things as well as on artillery. There is some evidence for earlier printing, but the first four known editions of the *Precetti* came out in Venice in 1568, 1572, 1583 and 1585, with the cat-and-mouse device of the Sessi. There were at least three other editions, Italian and German, the last of them as late as 1641. The Library has the 1583 and 1595 editions. The book is not in the Library of Congress but is at Michigan and the New York Public Library.

One great military writer is almost unknown to American libraries, though his works are of interest not only from the strictly military aspect but also for their historical and bibliographical value. Johann Jacobi von Wallhausen wrote an authoritative treatise on each of the three arms, infantry, cavalry and artillery, besides some minor works. The military student will appreciate the technical excellence of the three treatises; the historian can benefit from them in his understanding of the operations of the Thirty Years' War; and for the bibliographer, it is only necessary to say that all three were illustrated by de Bry. The infantry book, first published at Oppenheim in 1615, under the title *Kriegskunst zu Fuss*, was translated into French, Dutch and Russian, and appeared in seven editions up to 1647. The Library has the first French edition, *L'Art militaire pour l'infanterie*, which appeared in the same year as the German original. There is only one copy (Michigan) recorded in the union catalogue of any edition in any language. Wallhausen was not only a writer; his services as a practical soldier were in such demand that he got employment from each side, at one time or another, in the Thirty Years' war.

We can now review the Library's holdings in all languages. In view of the special field to which it is supposed to restrict itself, it is surprising to find that as to the general principles of the military art and as to infantry in particular the Library offers very considerable material for the sixteenth century and the early part of the seventeenth. There are enough of the standard works to give as full an understanding of the strategy and tactics of the time as would be desired by any historical student unless he were making a highly specialized study of the art of war. As to cavalry there is nothing whatever. There is not much on artillery, and nearly all of what there is pertains to the earliest years of the period. Fortification is barely touched upon, though its literature was extensive, highly technical, and of great practical value almost down to our own time. So the military collection is far from being a complete and well-rounded one, and there is no reason why it should be.

No student of military history would logically resort at first to the Folger Library and it would be rather natural for him to neglect it altogether, which would most certainly be a mistake. This survey shows that it supplements

admirably the resources of the Library of Congress, providing a number of books which cannot be had elsewhere within several hundred miles of Washington. Furthermore there has been no examination of the extensive manuscript collections in the Folger Library with an eye to their military interest. It is quite possible that something of value may be discovered there. There may be, for example, some sets of tables of the type published by Whitehorne and Cataneo, or in the nature of quartermaster manuals giving requirements for the supply of troops. A good many such were prepared in the seventeenth century. Some were for official or personal use and some were intended for publication. We know that Sir John Smythe wrote such a manual and did not find a publisher, and that the manuscript subsequently disappeared. Manuscripts of this sort turn up occasionally. Quaritch had one about two years ago. It will be some time before the great Folger collection can be thoroughly catalogued and some interesting discoveries may still be made.

All this suggests that not only the Folger Library, which of course is exceptional, but also that many other specialized libraries must have unsuspected resources. Were it not for the *Guide to Historical Literature* one would not turn to the Pennsylvania Historical Society for material on the French Revolution, or to Bowdoin College to study Polar exploration, or to the Wisconsin Historical Society for books in the Dutch language. The Clements Library has wisely taken some pains to give publicity to its collection of Anglican prayer-books, while its New England Congregational literature needs no special publicity. The library of Washington Cathedral has a mass of manuscript material on the Mammoth Cave of Kentucky, though its transfer to more congenial surroundings is now contemplated. Punahou Academy, a college preparatory school in Honolulu, has a small collection of Babylonian tablets, not so numerous but just as cuneiform as the British Museum's. The list could be made endless. Everything possible should be done to make such resources known. Not neglecting other methods, it would seem that every library should see to it that all its odd and peculiar collections, as well as its individual rare books, should be duly reported to the office of the union catalogue in Washington.

RESACA DE LA PALMA

A TRADITIONAL EPISODE IN THE HISTORY OF THE SECOND CAVALRY

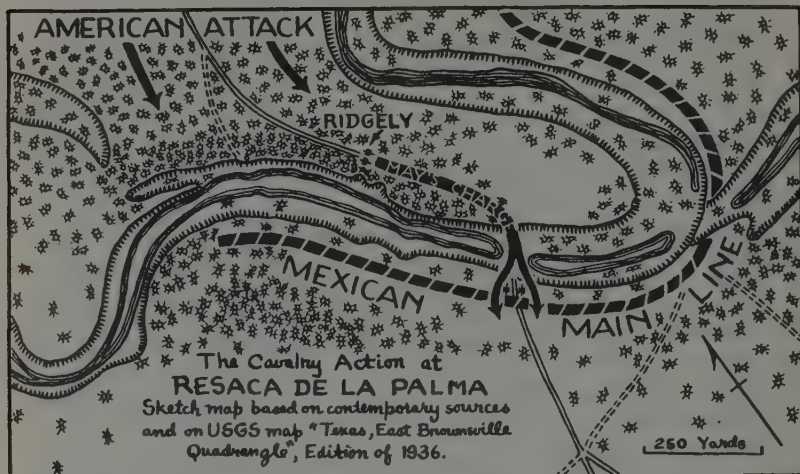
BY THOMAS D. ROBERTS

Of the many stirring episodes in the history of the Second Cavalry, regimental tradition assigns particular significance to the charge of May's Squadron at the battle of Resaca de la Palma. It is true that other fields were more closely contested, that other actions claimed their dead and produced their heroes. From early days of Indian skirmishes in the Everglades to the great battles of the World War the record is eventful. But to the true Second Cavalryman, Resaca de la Palma has come to be more than an event. It represents the spirit of the Regiment, the bright, dangerous excitement of the cavalry charge. And so, when considering the action, this growth of tradition must be kept in mind. While many of the exact details have been lost through passage of time, the story, as the Regiment has it, lives and is real.

General Zachary Taylor's "Army of Occupation," the little body of regulars who fought the opening engagements of the Mexican War, was a force weak in the mounted arm. Apart from Walker's company of Texian mounted rangers, the only cavalry in the command were seven companies of the Second Dragoons. These seven companies, numbering about forty troopers each, contained many tried veterans of the late Florida War and were led by a splendid group of officers. Considered light cavalry, they were armed with muskets carried on sling belts, heavy Prussian sabers and horse pistols. For tactical purposes, the companies were provisionally grouped into three squadrons. Since Colonel Twiggs, the regimental commander, was the only field officer present, command of the squadrons devolved upon senior captains. Companies C and F were led by the "brave but unfortunate" Seth B. Thornton. Croghan Ker, who had made such an enviable reputation in the Everglades campaigns, commanded Companies B, H and K. Companies D and E followed the now legendary Charles A. May.

During the protracted period of armed demonstrations and diplomatic bickering which preceded open hostilities, the dragoons performed important services in security and reconnaissance. Indicative of the high reputation which the regiment gained at an early date is a remark in a letter from a staff officer of the army, who, discussing the prospects of the campaign, wrote: "The fact is, this regiment of Second Dragoons has the finest material in it of any in the service, and you may rely upon it, it will be heard from ere the war is over."

Indeed, it was heard from ere the war had officially begun, for it was the unfortunate privilege of Thornton's Squadron, upon being ambushed and cut to pieces by Torrejon's sixteen hundred lancers at La Rosia, to become



the subject of a dispatch from Taylor to the War Department in which he announced, with characteristic aplomb: "Hostilities may now be considered as commenced."

The events of the next two weeks fairly justified Taylor's statement, for there followed a rapid series of engagements. In fifteen days of fast marching and determined fighting Old Rough-and-Ready's twenty-five hundred shattered Arista's army of six thousand and harried the remnants south across the Rio Grande in indescribable confusion.

Commenting on General Taylor's conduct of this campaign, Steele remarks: "The effect of this victory Palo Alto and that of Resaca de la Palma was very important. By these triumphs Mexican authority was wholly and forever expelled from the soil of Texas; and the American troops gained a morale and prestige that they never have lost to this day. Up to that time American troops had seldom known what it was to go after an enemy and defeat him."

At Palo Alto, on May 8, 1846, it was apparently Arista's intention to go after the Americans. Dissuaded, however, by the extremely effective practice of Taylor's artillery and confounded by the ineptitude (some say treachery) of his own subordinates, he bivouacked on the field of battle and during the early morning hours of May 9 withdrew to a defensive position near the Resaca de la Palma, four miles from the battlefield of the previous day and

about the same distance from the crossings of the Rio Grande at Matamoros.

Here the Matamoros road, Taylor's axis of movement, crossed the Resaca de Guerrero, an extensive, shallow ravine in which stood numerous pools of stagnant water. The terrain for several miles on either side of the Resaca was covered by an almost impenetrable growth of mesquite and chaparral. Where the Matamoros road crossed the ravine Arista established the key-point of his defense, three batteries, totalling seven guns, sited to sweep approaches along the road and the open ground to right and left in the bottom of the ravine. Infantry was posted in the undergrowth on the forward edge with a line of supports covered by the banks of the ravine itself. Skirmishers were thrown well forward. Considering the ground unfavorable for his mounted troops, Arista held these in reserve at some distance to the rear.

While the Mexicans were making these dispositions, Taylor, in thorough fashion, policed the battlefield of Palo Alto and reorganized his command. No special effort seems to have been made to maintain contact with Arista's retreating army. May's Squadron, it is true, was dispatched from its bivouac shortly after sunrise to ascertain whether or not the enemy had retired. However, reconnaissance was extended only to the outskirts of the wooded area north of the Resaca de Guerrero whence May returned late in the morning with information that the Mexicans had decamped.

At about noon Taylor decided to advance. Captain McCall with a mixed detachment of infantry, Walker's Texians and a platoon of dragoons under Second Lieutenant Alfred Pleasanton, received orders to enter the belt of chaparral and locate the enemy. Meanwhile the trains of the army were parked under the protection of the Artillery Battalion and Ker's Squadron.

McCall's advance through the tangled undergrowth in front of the Mexican position was, of necessity, slow. With the Rangers in advance, skirmishers on either flank and Pleasanton's platoon bringing up the rear, he combed the chaparral. Ultimately, while feeling its way blindly, the advance made contact with Mexican skirmishers who were thought to be stragglers from Arista's army. These the advance brushed aside, only to come suddenly under the fire of the batteries at the Resaca and at the same time to be assailed in flank by the first line of Mexican infantry. McCall realizing that he had collided with the hostile army, fell back to a position of security and dispatched three dragoons to report his dispositions to General Taylor.

The latter, at three o'clock in the afternoon, advanced to the attack. Covered by May's Squadron, the light artillery moved at a rapid pace down the Matamoros road followed by the regiments of infantry. A half-mile short of Arista's position, May was instructed to halt and await further orders. Ridgely's battery galloped through to support McCall and the infantry was deployed to the right and left of the road with orders to bring on the action.

May took up a position just clear of the road in the chaparral to the rear of Taylor's staff. Here, for nearly an hour, the squadron remained mounted,



O. C. Darley

W. Ridgeway

A contemporary print showing Captain May's Squadron charging the Mexican batteries. The immense popularity gained by the event is indicated by the large number of such illustrations which were issued immediately afterwards, three at least by N. Currier alone. All of these prints were highly fictitious and usually show the dragoons charging in full dress uniform.

listening to the roar of battle to the front, with Mexican musket balls cutting the mesquite around them. While ten months of field service under Old Rough-and-Ready had made first class soldiers of May's seventy-odd dragoons, frontier campaigning cannot be said to have improved the personal appearance of the individuals of the squadron, as judged by present-day standards. Indeed, Thorpe, a contemporary historian, mentions the fact that Captain May "wears his hair and beard very long . . . causing thereby much speculation as to the reason", and that "it is a singular coincidence that every

man attached to May's Squadron is afflicted in the same way." However, despite their tonsorial afflictions, they were, to quote Sergeant Milton of Company E, "men upon whose countenances was clearly expressed a fixed determination to win." Stripped "to the buff" and relieved of every encumbrance, in high spirits after the successes of the previous day, the squadron eagerly awaited orders.

Magnificently supported by Ridgely's battery, which had galloped into action in the middle of the Matamoros road, the attack of the American infantry made steady progress nearly to the edge of the Resaca where forward movement was denied by the Mexican batteries. Taylor, who had followed the action closely, now rode to the front to reconnoiter. On the far side of the ravine were four enemy guns, two on each side of the road. Supported by infantry and admirably served, these guns swept all crossings of the Resaca. Promptly Taylor sent for May's Squadron.

The arrival of a staff officer calling for Captain May caused an instantaneous stir in the ranks of the dragoons. Reins were adjusted and seats were taken more firmly in the saddle while quiet words of speculation and confidence passed from neighbor to neighbor. The tension was broken by a brisk word of command from Captain May. With drawn sabers, the squadron moved down the road in column of fours at the trot.

After riding only a short distance, May encountered General Taylor. The squadron was brought to a halt.

"Captain May, you must charge the enemy's batteries and take them," directed Taylor.

May asked no questions. Turning to his squadron he issued a classic attack order: "Remember your regiment and follow your officers." The squadron moved forward at the gallop.

The heat was stifling and the dust, hanging in a low cloud among the close-grown thickets, blinded all but the leading set of fours. Several hundred yards short of the ravine the squadron came to a plunging halt. May had found further movement barred by Ridgely's battery, which, enveloped in a pall of smoke, was deployed across the road, pounding away at the enemy line. Dense undergrowth on either hand prevented movement around the guns. May caught sight of Ridgely, match in hand.

"Where are they?" yelled May, "I am going to charge."

Ridgely, begrimed with dust and powder, pointed down the road. "Wait until I draw their fire," he replied.

The battery fired a crashing volley and Ridgely ordered the guns man-handled clear of the road.

As the smoke of the last volley lifted, the leading ranks of the dragoons could see the Mexican guns, three hundred yards to the front on the far side of the Resaca. Protected by breastworks of timber and supported by a dark line of infantry, they were a formidable objective for the small squadron.

With May's command "Charge" the column broke into a mad gallop, sped by the cheers of Ridgely's artillerymen. At the entrance to the ravine the column passed three abandoned enemy guns. The cannoneers had fled. As the heads of the platoons reached the open ground in the Resaca, the leaders attempted to form line, but the swiftness of May's pace and the wild excitement of the moment made maneuver impossible.

Lieutenant Sackett, commanding the leading platoon of Company E, drew up alittle ahead of May.

"No fair," screamed May, "You took the jump on me."

At this moment Sackett's horse fell with a musket ball through his body, catapulting the hasty rider into a pool of water. May regained the lead.

Just after Sackett's fall the guns of the Mexican batteries poured a volley of canister into the leading ranks of the charging dragoons. Lieutenant Inge dropped from his horse, a bullet in his throat. Eighteen of the squadron's horses fell. A dozen saddles were emptied. May, superbly mounted on an enormous grey Canadian charger, put his horse at the breastwork of the right-hand battery. His saber flashed as he cut down a gunner. A few of his better mounted troopers followed. The horses of most refused, however, and led by Sergeant Milton, who was soon to be shot down with a shattered thigh, the remainder of the company turned to the right to pass around the obstacle, in hope of gaining the enemy's rear.

Captain Graham, at the head of Company D, with true instinct of leadership, swerved to the left as he entered the ravine. Directly to his front was the other enemy battery. With a shout his men were among the guns, riding down the cannoneers, pursuing them into the chaparral.

Meanwhile, the supporting Mexican infantry, stationed in the undergrowth on either flank of the two batteries, recovered from a momentary confusion and opened fire on the pursuing dragoons. May realized that he could not maintain his position without support and attempted to rally his command. His troopers had become so scattered, however, that he could assemble only six men. Most of Graham's company, after over-running the left battery, had turned to the left-about and were recrossing the ravine. Corporal McCauley, a former sword-master at West Point, with his set of fours, had continued straight down the road at a dead run, headforemost through an amazed platoon of Mexican lancers and on to Fort Brown, four miles distant. Eighteen officers and men had fallen. Eighteen horses had been killed, ten wounded.

With his six men, May rode back through the battery. A small group of Mexican gunners, led by General of Brigade de la Vega, had reoccupied the position. Scattering these new opponents and making a prisoner of General de la Vega, May and his party regained the American lines.

As they crossed the ravine they met the leading elements of the Eighth and Fifth Infantries who were advancing to follow up the charge. At the



THE COAT OF ARMS OF THE SECOND REGIMENT CAVALRY THE BLAZON

SHIELD: Tenne, a dragoon in the uniform of the Mexican War mounted on a white horse, brandishing a sabre and charging a Mexican field gun defended by a gunner armed with a rammer all proper, in chief two eight pointed mullets or. **CREST:** On a wreath of colors the headdress of the dragoons of 1836 proper. **MOTTO:** *Toujours Pret.*

brink of the ravine, the ubiquitous Ridgely was again going into action. However, the fight was practically finished. The batteries had been silenced. Grimly going to work with the bayonet, the American infantry quickly over-ran the position.

It required the rest of the day for May to reassemble his scattered squadron. Twenty-five percent were casualties. The horses had suffered even more heavily. Many troopers had lost their way in the dusty underbrush. But there had been enough glory for one day. While May's sergeants counted noses and established bivouac in the fateful Resaca, Ker, with his fresh squadron, chased the last of Arista's broken army across the Rio Grande. Texas had been won and the Second Cavalry had gained an undying heritage of valor.

Note: The material for this article has been taken from numerous sources, chief among these being T. F. Rodenbough, *From Everglade to Canyon*; Justin H. Smith, *The War with Mexico*; M. F. Steele, *American Campaigns*; T. B. Thorpe, *Our Army on the Rio Grande*; A. C. Ramsey, *The Other Side*; "An Army Surgeon's Notes of Frontier Service" in *Jour. Mil. Ser. Inst.*, vol. 40, p. 435 et seq.; C. M. Wilcox, *History of the Mexican War*; and MS records and returns of the Second Dragoons on file at Regimental Headquarters.

ON AMERICAN POLEARMS, ESPECIALLY THOSE IN THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

BY BASHFORD DEAN

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Years ago my good friend, George A. Plimpton, came to the Museum and placed before me a halberd. "What is this?" he said. "A poor thing," I ventured, "the last of a great lineage—degenerate in every line. The structure of it is impossible—you could crumple its thin iron with your hands; you could separate the blade and beak from the tang as you would a card from a pack; the shaft you could break across your knee. Its form would have caused the keenest distress to a Gothic armorer whose halberds, simple as they are, are works of art as great as, or greater than, the splendid halberds, etched, gilded, tasseled, of the sixteenth century. This is late eighteenth century, from England." "Why England?" he protested. "Why not New England? It came from our old Plimpton house in Walpole (Massachusetts), where it has been for generations; earlier it came from the little courthouse there, and was carried by the clerk who cried *Oyez* when court was held." I looked at the halberd with respect. An American halberd? Why not? No actual specimens are described, but I recalled a number of early references. "Let us together look into this," I said.

This started me off on a hunt for American halberds. I motored in and out through New England, up the valleys of the Hudson and Mohawk; I corresponded with curators of local museums, north and south, and visited numbers of "antique dealers." In the course of time, in one way and another, material and information turned up which are referred to in the following pages.

In a general way my quest for American polearms led to checking up about a hundred specimens of local origin. It carried a knowledge of these forms from a sixteenth-century halberd through several seventeenth-century types into the still functional halberds of the French and Indian War, thence to the degenerate halberds of the Revolution and the spontoons of the state militia, when they became merely badges of office,—used as canes by commissioned officers.

This introductory note would be seriously incomplete if I neglected to record gratefully the courtesies which were shown me by those whom I visited and by numerous correspondents from the time, indeed, when Mr. Plimpton outlined my plan of inquiry. I note especially the helpful work of Thomas T. Hoopes, of Newburyport, who discovered for me one of our most important specimens and whose interest in the subject led him to become a student of arms and in due time Assistant Curator of Armor in The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Also the data given me by Frederic A. Lucas, Honorary Director of the American Museum of Natural History, who is especially familiar with the towns and museums of the old Colony. Nor should I fail to

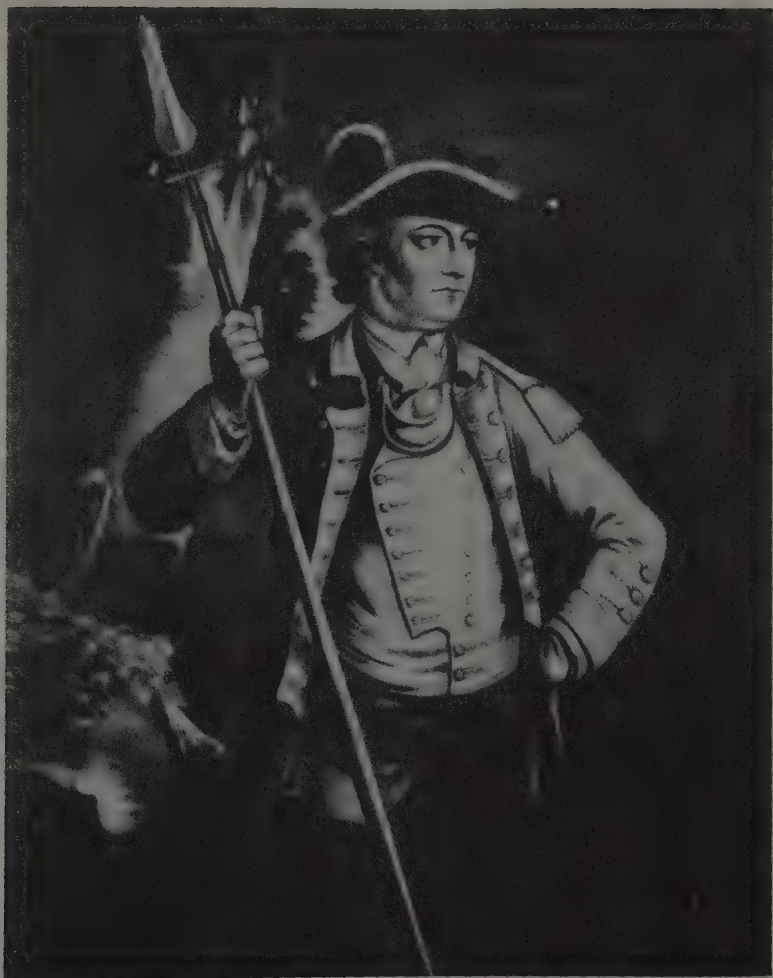


FIG. 1. MAJOR GENERAL JOHN SULLIVAN

Reproduced from a mezzotint by an unknown engraver, published in 1776 by Thomas Hart. This print is probably based upon a painting, by an unknown artist, now in the Erskine Hewett Collection, New York. General Sullivan is carrying a spontoon and, in the painting, is shown in red coat. These and other details would indicate that the original drawing was made early in 1775 when Sullivan was a major in the New Hampshire Militia.

mention Dr. Lawrence W. Jenkins, Director of the Peabody Museum, who made for me many careful drawings of his materials, and who collected numerous notes; nor Reginald Pelham Bolton, who gave his time unsparingly in order to secure for me references to the halberds and pikes of the Revolutionary period in New York. I also mention gratefully George Francis Dow and Howard M. Chapin, who were so good as to furnish me with detailed references to the court and probate records of Essex County, Massachusetts.

As one result of these studies, it is now possible for the visitor to New York to examine in The Metropolitan Museum of Art a noteworthy if not unique group of American halberds. We have here a series which extends from the beginning of the seventeenth century to post-Revolutionary times. One of the earliest of these has lately been placed on deposit with us through the courtesy of the New England Historic and Genealogical Society. Another specimen of especial value came to us as a loan from the Museum of Old Newbury, Massachusetts, through the kind offices of the Reverend Glenn Tilley Morse. Incidentally, it is curious to note how material of this kind may be found when one seeks for it, sometimes in unexpected ways. Who, for example, would think of looking for a halberd under the description given in a catalogue as an "ancient weather-vane" in "Ye Olde Gaol" in York, Maine? It is still more curious to find that objects which seemed impossibly rare continue to "turn up." In the case of American halberds it is even probable that a serious collector may still be able to bring together a greater number of specimens than we have here described.

From an artistic viewpoint, arms in American Colonial days were of minor interest. For one reason, they were at that time, i.e., from the mid-seventeenth century, going out of fashion. In Europe, whence they came, wars were being carried on with larger numbers of soldiers, expenses were methodically curtailed, and improvement in firearms rendered the risk of loss of costly equipment so great that few, even among the wealthy, employed artists to make and decorate arms or armor. In England the Puritan Revolution had so democratized warfare that in the quality of his arms an officer could hardly be distinguished from his men. Hence it came about that when English colonies were established, few good arms found their way over the sea; in fact, it is safe to assume that it was the poorer rather than the better which were passed into the vessels at Plymouth or Bristol on their way to the plantations. There service arms alone were needed, and quantity rather than quality. Moreover, if used at all, they were to serve against Indians, and without pomp of war. In the matter of armor, almost anything would be suitable for such pioneer warfare; in fact, good armor of plate was hardly needed; a mere civil costume stuffed with sheep's wool was a practical defense against the arrow-points of the enemy.¹ As for firearms, matchlocks were almost as satisfactory as the improved wheellock of the day. For the infantry polearms were common, and were represented by pikes and the simpler form of halberds.

Examination of records shows that halberds were in common use everywhere in the early Colonies. In Massachusetts in 1624 we find halberds, partisans, pikes, and half-pikes recorded.² They are mentioned in the inventory of Governor Wentworth's armory. In the court and probate records of Essex County,³ between 1634 and 1680, at least ten notes on halberds appear, although nothing descriptive. One record in 1645 shows that a halberd is appraised at "six shillings eight." The forms of polearm known as bills are sometimes mentioned as well as halberds, though no good examples of such types are known in this country. The only ones with which the writer is familiar presumably functioned as agricultural implements. A number of these were dug up in the upper part of Manhattan Island, and several others found their way into various historical collections in New York and elsewhere. An excellent example came to light when trenches were being dug in Canal Street (fig. 59).

In Connecticut in 1657 an inventory of Thomas Eaton mentions halberds. In Virginia their use is recorded as early as 1611.⁴ In this reference, for which I am indebted to my colleague in the Metropolitan Museum, Stephen V. Grancsay, it appears that the halberd was carried only in garrison, and by the sergeant; that it was a symbol of authority and honor; that it was used also as a means of punishment, although in exactly what way is not clear. In the last regard "it is generally understood that the sergeant halberds were fastened together somehow, the culprit bound to them, stretched out, and then flogged," says Reginald Pelham Bolton—this was what was meant by "bringing a soldier to the halberds." In a reference, for which I am indebted to Mr. Bolton, a note is given that the disgrace was extreme if a soldier were brought to the halberds. "He was regarded as degraded, and little more good was to be expected of him. After being publicly disgraced he could no longer associate with his comrades; and in several instances the privates of a company had subscribed from their pay to procure the discharge" of such a person.⁵

In the Virginia reference of 1611, above cited, no mention is made of "bringing an offender to the halberds"; merely the phrase "he shall be punished by his halbert" (whatever this may mean). In a similar vague way reference is made to offenders who shall "pass the pikes."⁶ Does this mean that they "ran the gauntlet," i.e., were beaten by the butts of pikes?

In a word, in the literature of America during the seventeenth century numerous scattered references to halberds occur, but none have been found which are descriptive. In eighteenth-century references halberds, spontoons, lances, pikes, and half-pikes are mentioned frequently. Thus Henry B. Dawson, in his *Westchester County, New York, during the American Revolution* refers to the "lances with which somebody induced the Convention to arm the militia," indicating that the earlier doctrine of the strength of the pikemen in infantry was not extinct.⁷ Also in his memoirs, General Heath tells us that "a number of volunteers . . . attacked the British advance guard at

Brown's house on Boston Neck, and routed them, taking a halberd and musket, and burned the house," etc.⁸

It appears that polearms were then in fairly common use; also that the spontoon, which is in part a derivative of the halberd, was carried in comparatively late times, judging from early records of the militia. The writer learned from his friend, Colonel William Cary Sanger, of Sangerfield, Oneida County, that the law of the State of New York still requires each militia officer to have in his possession a spontoon—this act never having been repealed.

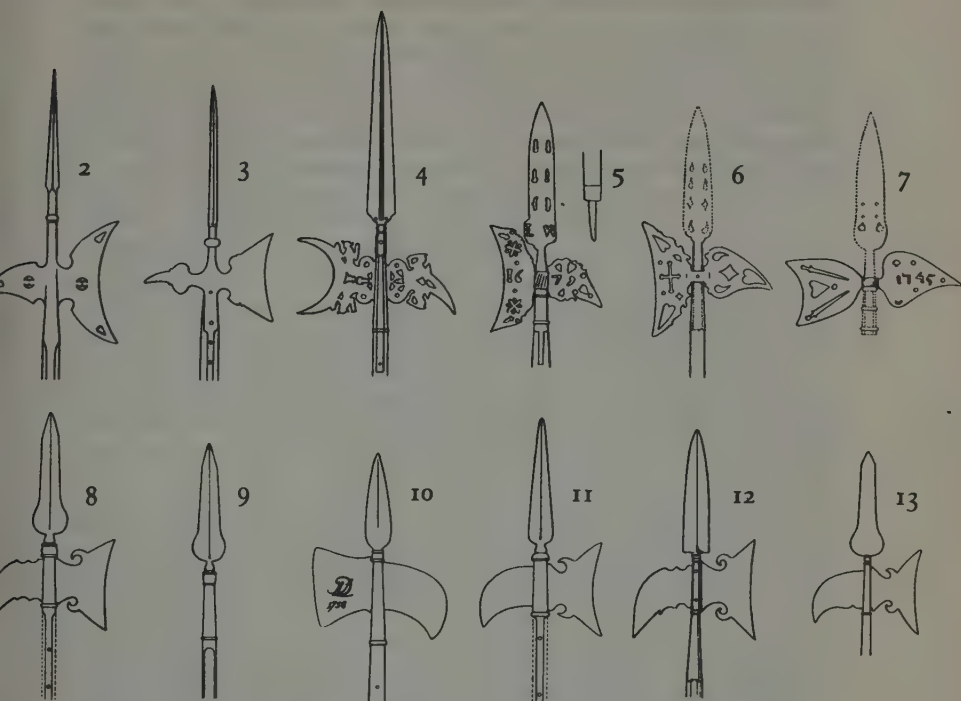
HALBERDS

The earliest American halberd known to the writer is in the museum at Plymouth (fig. 2). There is no note as to its provenance, but by its structure, heavy metal, and general form it recalls the halberds of the last quarter of the sixteenth century. On account of certain details it may be of somewhat later date, say 1600-1610, notably from the small basal rings which occur as ornaments at the base of the spike. Early features of this arm are its flatness in the shaft region; the gradual merging of the shaft into the straps (by which it is riveted to the wooden shaft); the crescentic blade and the broad, strong beak, which are marked off from the shaft region by indented areas and decorated with small perforations.

A second American halberd of similar date (fig. 3) belongs to Miss Millicent Blair, and is now on loan at The Metropolitan Museum of Art. It was purchased by her brother, Robert Stirling Blair, a dozen years ago in Hartford. The owner of the small shop where it was bought found it among other things in the garret of a Colonial house in the neighborhood. It is a "white" halberd and dates not later than the first years of the seventeenth century. The spike is quadrangular in section to within a short distance of the blade; it then becomes cylindrical and is presently provided with a semi-spherical ornament. The blade and beak are broadly pinched off from the shaft and develop at these points lobate ornaments. The strap attaching shaft and head is of moderate length; its foremost part is wide, an abrupt shoulder connecting it with the narrow strap.

This halberd differs from the preceding one in its more highly developed spike, in a larger basal ornament, and in the lobate eminences at the origin of beak and blade. Similar halberds (European) seen by the writer date not later than the first years of the seventeenth century. The present arm is certainly as early as 1610-1620.

In the museum of the New England Historic and Genealogical Society on Somerset Street, Boston, there was long preserved a halberd (fig. 4) which, through the kindness of the officers of the Society, is now deposited in The Metropolitan Museum of Art. The only record which could be had regarding



FIGS. 2-13. AMERICAN HALBERDS. SCALE 2:25

- | | |
|---|--|
| 2. Plymouth, 1590-1610 | 8. 1755-1760, Pell Collection |
| 3. Connecticut, 1620 | 9. 1775-1780, Pell Collection |
| 4. French (?), 1620-1660 | 10. 1758, Pell Collection |
| 5. Carried by Capt. John Walcott of Salem, 1679 | 11. From Amsterdam, N. Y., Van Epps Collection |
| 6. Preston, Conn., 1690 | 12. 1775-1780, Pell Collection |
| 7. Dated 1745, in Yt Olde Gaol, York, Me. | 13. 1765-1775, from West Medway, Mass. |

it was that "it was carried at the inauguration of Colonial governors." This may well have been the case. Clearly, though, the arm is not local in origin; nor is it English. It is French rather, or perhaps from the Low Countries. Similar specimens recorded as French occur in local French museums, e.g., Musée d'Artillerie, Paris; and one, almost a replica, was in a shop in Paris in the Passage Stevens. If French, the present specimen may well have found its way to Boston from the Louisburg expedition of 1745, among the spoils brought back by Pepperell. One notes also its resemblance to the Dutch halberd which Frans Hals pictures in his *Banquet of the Officers of the*

Shooting Company of Saint George of Haarlem, which has also the merit of giving a date for the halberd—earlier than 1616.⁹ In any event, the present halberd is apparently the most important of its kind, i.e., as used in America. It is well made—nicely proportioned and distinctly serviceable. The apex is a double-edged blade, developed with a median ridge doubled, and showing at its base two small circular apertures; longitudinal groovings appear where it joins the shaft, causing this region to be broadly quadrangular in section. At one time there was here a toggle or arrêt, which was not uncommon in pole-arms of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Blade and beak are a single plate which was passed through the shaft of the halberd, a structural character which could indicate a late date were it not accompanied by earlier features. The blade of the halberd has a deeply crescentic lateral border; in its decorative motive we note that its basal region is broadly outlined with mermen developed as silhouettes. The beak is unusual in length, and is similarly decorated; in this case, however, the mermen are armed with shield and cutlass and are helmeted. The mermen of the blade wear the hat of the period. The date of the arm, according to the indications given above, is possibly as early as the first quarter of the seventeenth century.

The halberd of figure 5 gives an excellent idea of the type of halberd used in New England during the last decades of the seventeenth century. It is in the possession of Charles Walcott, of Cambridge, and since it belonged to his forebear, Captain John Walcott, of the Train Band in Salem, bearing his initials and the date, 1679, perforated in the blade, it is evidently of American workmanship. In comparison with the halberd of figure 4, a number of changes are observed. The apex is shorter, its base simpler, its tip more obtuse. It lacks the conspicuous median ridge, and is decorated by numerous perforations. Three pairs of ornamental apertures appear in the apex in front of its basal flange, where the letters J. W. occur (the J reversed). The beak and blade of this halberd are of considerable size, tall and fairly narrow, joined together abruptly in a short cylindrical isthmus; they bear numerous perforations, heart-shaped and circular, together with the date; their border sprouts out pointed processes similar to those in later halberds. The base of the head of the halberd is cylindrical, or nearly so, reinforced by annular bands. In the cylindrical region which joins beak and blade, ornamental ridges are present, somewhat *en torsade*. The arm measures about eight feet in length; its shaft is stout and serviceable, attached to its iron by straps thirty inches in length. The lower end of the shaft is reinforced with a ferrule and armed with a blunt spike, a type of butt occurring commonly in American halberds.

A halberd having beak and blade not unlike the preceding one belongs to John E. Sanborn, of New York, by whom it has been deposited in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (fig. 6). It lacked shaft and apex when it was dug up in Preston, Connecticut, where it was probably in use about 1690. It is similar to the Walcott halberd in the way in which its blade and beak are joined in a heavy isthmus, through which the apical part of the halberd passed, and to

which it was anchored, in this case by a rivet. The blade of this halberd ends more acutely than in the earlier one, and the marginal processes are more prominent. Like the Walcott blade it is perforated ornamentally, a cross furnishing the central ornament and hearts the terminal ones. The beak is here furnished with four large apertures, of which the central one—a diamond—appears commonly in the decoration of later halberds. The large perforations borne by this halberd do not make in the direction of furnishing a serviceable arm; especially is the point of the beak weakened by the large heart-shaped opening. In this regard we recall similar features in late seventeenth-century halberds, English, Flemish, Swedish, and Italian.

Of similar date is the halberd head (fig. 7) exhibited among the antiquarian material in "Ye Olde Gaol" at York, Maine. It belongs in the category of the Sanborn and Walcott specimens in that its blade and beak are joined in a narrow thick isthmus, cylindrical in section, this perforated by the apex of the halberd. But in design and workmanship the present example is degenerate. The blade loses its trim proportions, its outline becomes shovel-shaped, its height scarcely greater than the beak. The beak, moreover, while similar in outline to the Sanborn specimen, is longer and more crudely fashioned. Especially interesting is the fact that it bears a date—1745. It is crudely ornamented with small perforations, e.g., crescent, rivet, and disks. The blade, similarly decorated, bears apertures, a heart, two daggers, and a disk. This object is doubtless of local origin: it may well have been carried in the siege of Louisburg (1745).

A halberd of the time of the French and Indian War is pictured in figure 8 from a specimen now in the Stephen H. P. Pell Collection at Fort Ticonderoga, and excavated by him in the fort itself (in the debris of the "bakeroom"). There can be little doubt as to its period, 1755-1760. It is a stout, serviceable arm, combining spontoon and halberd. Its apex is a spontoon head lacking basal processes, and set upon the shaft in a squat fashion with a pair of anneaux between it and the plate constituting blade and beak. The last element is thrust through a slot in the heavy cylindrical metal shaft of the halberd head, and is then fastened by riveting—a method of attachment common in American halberds. The beak is prominent, long, somewhat down-turned, slightly indented near the shaft. The blade is low, barely crescentic, and furnished with two recurved ornaments in the region midway between the edge of the blade and the shaft. Stout iron straps are continued from the axis of the halberd head down the sides of the wooden shaft to the distance of a foot, and are attached on either side by four nails. No perforations appear as ornaments of apex, blade, or beak; the arm was evidently for active service, but whether French, English, or local, it is hard to say.

That there was originally a regular issue of halberds of this type at Ticonderoga is suggested by the finding of a second halberd (fig. 9) in which the plate is lacking which comprised beak and blade.¹⁰

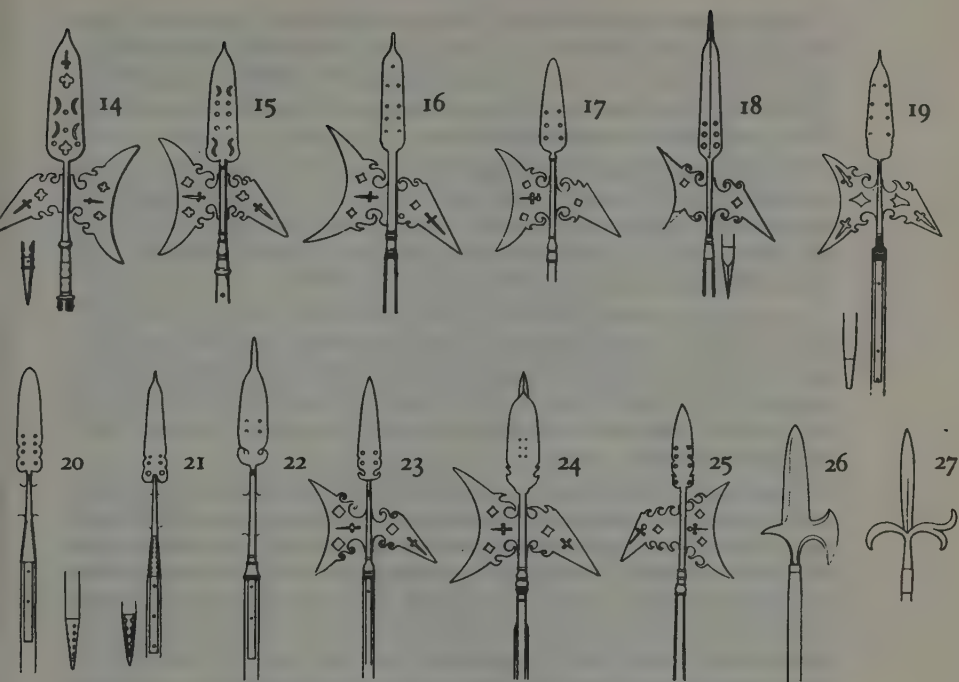
But such a plate occurs again in a third halberd from Ticonderoga (fig. 12) which, on account of varying details, may have been of slightly later date, for here the highly developed spontoon head of the middle of the eighteenth century is represented in a degenerate blade with a truncated base and rudimentary basal ornaments. One observes also that the iron axis of this halberd through which beak-and-blade plate passes is attenuated, having at most but half the functional strength of the earlier arm. So, too, the shaft at the head of the halberd is less solid, the base of the head appearing as a long conical ferrule whose basal straps by which it was nailed to the wooden shaft are no longer, so to speak, a physiological part of the head. The arm tended, therefore, in the direction of ceremonial use. In this regard note the ornamental development of the basal processes of the blade, and the appearance of a spur on the under side of the beak.

Still another halberd of the Ticonderoga type has recently come to light (fig. 13). This was discovered in the old grist-mill of West Medway, Massachusetts, and is now in the possession of George A. Plimpton. It differs little from the form described above; it dates about 1765-1775.

In connection with these halberds one should refer to certain spontoon heads which resemble closely halberds *sans* blade and beak.

Late halberds in our series are illustrated in figures 14-27. They date from the American Revolution to the end of the eighteenth century, in certain instances perhaps even as late as 1820. In form and construction they are quite similar; they differ only in ornament and in structural details, e.g., in the anchorage of the halberd head to the shaft, some of them retaining the earlier zone of union, which was longer. In most cases the apices are blade-shaped—a form, by the way, long retained in spontoons—but none of the present forms show the widened or lobate base, as in figure 13, which dates from the time of the French and Indian War.

Reviewing briefly the various types: figure 14 pictures a large, well-made specimen from Old Newbury, Massachusetts, now belonging to the Historical Society of Old Newbury, Newburyport, Massachusetts, and at present deposited in The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Contrasting it with the halberd of Revolutionary date shown in figure 13, it is distinctly a parade arm; its blade, beak, and apex are weakened by numerous perforations, somewhat after the manner of the Walcott halberd (fig. 5) of 1679, but differing from this early arm in important features. The plate forming beak and blade is no longer a carefully forged piece, but is merely chiseled out of stout rolled metal. Its borders are decidedly ornate, a pair of hook-like processes arising on either side near the base both of beak and blade. Especially noticeable is the slender metal shaft of this arm, which in itself is weak, but weakened still further by the longitudinal slit which has been cut in it, through which the beak-blade plate has been passed. So frail, indeed, is the region that the armorer has not thought it wise to perforate it in order to fasten in place the



FIGS. 14-27. AMERICAN HALBERDS. SCALE 2:25

- 14. Old Newbury, Mass., Late XVIII Cent.
- 15. Carried by Philip Johnson, Late XVIII Cent.
- 16. Saylesville, R. I., Late XVIII Cent.
- 17. Boston, Late XVIII Cent.
- 18. Boston, Late XVIII Cent.
- 19. Carried by J. L. Colby, Late XVIII Cent.
- 20. Late XVIII Cent., Hixon Collection.

- 21. Hixon Collection, now in Amherst Museum.
- 22. From West Medway Historical Society.
- 23. Boston, Late XVIII Cent.
- 24. Providence, Late XVIII Cent.
- 25. Walpole, Mass., Late XVIII Cent.
- 26. 1800, Deerfield Memorial Hall.
- 27. Blackstone, Mass., XVIII Cent.

beak-blade plate. This, then, is merely held in position by hammering—poor workmanship at the best. In point of fact, a number of halberds of similar type examined by the writer had beak-blade plates which were loose, and not a few had lost them. The base of the halberd head in this particular case is ornamented with rings and bands for attachment to the shaft, bretelles, or straps, but their plane is at right angles to the blade—unlike earlier models. Such an arm is about seven and one-half feet in total length, its shaft is light, its butt terminates in a well-made ferrule. Blade, plate, and apex bear ornamental perforations in the form of daggers, circles, half-moons, and trefoils.

A halberd similar to the last (fig. 15) belonged to Philip Johnson of Newburyport, and is doubtless of the same age, about 1780-1790. It differs mainly in the perforations of the apical blade. This excellent halberd is exhibited in The Metropolitan Museum of Art as a loan from George A. Foran, of New York City, a kinsman of the original owner.

A somewhat similar arm belonged in the family of Arnold Talbot, Saylesville, Rhode Island, through whose courtesy the writer has received the tracing reproduced in figure 16. It is evidently of the same general date, but a slightly less ornate arm, its apex perforated only by a series of small holes, which extend practically from one end of the apex to the other.

Of slightly later date (1790-1800) are the halberds shown in figures 17 and 18, preserved in the Museum of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Boston. In these instances the perforations in the apex are brought together into the base of this region. It should be noted that both specimens are distinctly ceremonial. The shafts are light, and the axis through which the blade-plate passes is frail.

Figure 19 pictures a specimen apparently of the same date, but somewhat more ornate in blade and in apex, which now becomes acuminate. This halberd retains the earlier method of attachment of head to shaft, its straps being in the plane of the blade. It is highly "specialized," however, in the way in which its slender axis passes suddenly into a broad, stout ferrule, with closely ringed ornamentation. An unusual enrichment is here also, the file-work which extends along the edges of the delicate axis of this arm. This specimen we believe dates from the end of the eighteenth century, although it has an earlier traditional date. It comes from the family of J. H. Colby, and was obtained by the writer through the antiquary, A. Stainforth, of Boston. Mr. Colby furnished the following memorandum:

The halberd I sold you was given to my great grandfather by the Indians. He was taken captive by them in 1755 at Hinsdale Fort, N. H., and kept in captivity until Quebec was taken by the British in 1760. He was treated very kindly by them, and brought home a number of interesting articles. The New Hampshire Provincial Papers, vol. 6, p. 412, give an account of the attack on the fort and captivity of John Colby.

He notes also that the halberd was used "at old court ceremonies." In fact, the writer, from a review of the materials at hand, is inclined to believe that halberds of this type were used only for ceremony, to be carried by court attendants.

The three arms shown in figures 20-22 are from West Medway, Massachusetts, and were brought to the writer's attention by Herbert N. Hixon of that place. The first of these is now in The Metropolitan Museum of Art; the second was lately donated to Amherst College by George A. Plimpton of this city; and the last is in the museum of the West Medway Historical Society, lent by the Honorable O. T. Mason of that town. In all three specimens the bladeplate is missing. The first two of them are interesting from the file-

work occurring near the shaft and on the ferrule. The third specimen shows a curious modification of the apex, where the indented border has broken into the last pair or ornamental holes.

The last variety of ornament is repeated in the halberds of figures 23 and 24; the former in the Museum of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company in Boston, the latter in the collection of the Rhode Island Historical Society in Providence. It is there referred to as "an espontoon or military pike, with ornamented head, carried by the commissioned officers of the Rhode Island militia, as required by the Public Laws of Rhode Island of 1798." This record is an interesting one, since it apparently confirms our belief that all arms of this type are of a very late date.

The final specimen of this late form is shown in figure 25; it belongs to George A. Plimpton of New York, who kindly lends it to The Metropolitan Museum of Art. This arm, noted on page 108, was used in court ceremonies in Walpole, Massachusetts, within the memory of men now living.

A closer search of local museums and of antiquity shops in New England would doubtless bring to light aberrant forms of halberds. At present only two of them may be pictured. Figure 26 shows us a small, compact type, exhibited in the museum at Deerfield, Massachusetts. It was "found in Indian Lake, near Lake George, in the track of the French and Indian Wars."¹¹ Evidently an arm for service, but weakly attached to its shaft which, for the rest, is modern. One is at a loss to assign to it either date or place of origin. It is a well-made arm, and is probably late (1800?). The second (fig. 27) "was found in a field at Blackstone, Massachusetts, a place which was quite noted in the early history of this country for its troubles with Indians."¹² This halberd iron is of a type unknown to the writer. Its plate is reduced curiously to a pair of decurved processes, and the interior border of this region, as well as that of the greatly reduced beak, is sharpened. The writer inclines to believe that the arm is of late date, probably post-Revolutionary. It is in his collection, deposited in The Metropolitan Museum of Art. May the above aberrant specimens have been carried by an Indian? This possibility is suggested by the head of an extraordinary polearm now preserved in the Museum of Schenectady, which is believed to have been carried by a local chief.

(To be concluded in the following issue.)

Notes

1. Such "soft armor" was then being used on both sides of the Atlantic. In England Roger North, in his *Examen*... (London, 1740), records that an "abundance of silken breast and back plates were made and sold that were pretended to be pistol proof, in which any man dressed was as safe as in a house, for it was impossible that any one could strike at him for laughing, so ridiculous was the figure, as they say of 'hogs in armor.'" In Virginia, according to a pamphlet by William Strachey, *For The Colony in Virginia Britannia. Lawes Divine, Morall and Martiall* (London, 1612), reprinted

in Peter Force's *Tracts and Other Papers* . . . , vol. III (1844), ii, 32, the commanding officer "shall not suffer in his Garrison any Souldier to enter into Guard, or to bee drawne out into the field without being armed according to the Marshals order, which is, that euery shot shall either be furnished with a quilted coate of Canuas, a headpeece, and a sword, or else with a light Armor, and Bases quilted, with which hee shall be furnished: and euery Targiteer with his Bases to the small of his legge, and his headpeece, sword and pistoll, or Scuppet prouided for that end. And likewise euery officer armed as before, with a firelocke, or Snaphause, headpeece, and a Target, onely the Serieant in Garrison shall vse his Halbert, and in field his Snaphaunse and Target.

"The Gouvernour shall haue a Principall care, that he vse his Garrison to the dayly wearing of these Armors, least in the field, the souldier do finde them the more vncouth strange and troublesome."

2. In the "List of Apparell" furnished in 1624 to the emigrants of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, for which see Alice Morse Earle, *Two Centuries of Costume in America* (New York, 1903), p. 685, were ample arms and armor:

3 Drums and to each two pair of Heads.

2 Ensings.

2 Partisans; one for the Captain & one for the Leftenant.

3 Halberds for the 3 Sergeants.

80 Bastard Muskets with snaphances, 4 foot long in the barrel; without rests.

6 Long fowling pieces, musket bore, 6½ feet long.

4 Long fowling pieces, musket bore, 5½ feet long.

10 Full muskets, four foot barrel, match cocks, and rests.

90 Bandoleers for the muskets, each with a bullet bag.

10 Horn Flasks for the long fowling pieces to hold 12 pounds powder apiece.

100 Swords and belts.

60 Corselets.

60 Pikes.

20 Half Pikes.

3. The list of Essex County halberds, for which I am indebted to George Francis Dow, of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, and Howard M. Chapin, is given herewith:

Inventory of the estate of Lionel Chute, Ipswich, taken June 25, 1645: "a halbert, 6s. 8d."

Inventory of estate of Matthew Whipple, Ipswich, Nov. 24, 1646: "one halbert and one bill, 4s."

Inventory of estate of Henry Birdsall of Salem, Nov. 17, 1651: "1 old sword, musket and halberd, 9s."

Inventory of estate of George Burrill, sen. of Lynn, June 24, 1654: "a lead crean for a coop and halberd, 6s."

Inventory of estate of John Trumble of Rowley, Sept. 29, 1657: "a halbird, one sword, one pair of Bandalers, 15s."

Inventory of estate of John Steevens of Andover, Apr. 28, 1662: "a muskett, corslett & headpiece, a sword & cutlas & holbert, 2 li. 5s."

Inventory of estate of John Brocklebanke of Rowley, Sept. 25, 1666: "halbert, 5s."

Inventory of estate of Robert Wilkes of Salem, Sept. 24, 1677: "1 old helbert, 5s."

Inventory of estate of Henry Short of Newbury, May 7, 1673: "a Holberd, looking Glass, basket & a flasket, 10s."

Inventory of estate of John Brimblecomb of Marblehead, Nov. 12, 1678: "one muskett, one houldbert, one cutles, one sword & belt, 2 li."

In an action against Resolved White of Salem, for debt, at Court held at Ipswich, Mar. 30, 1680, John Gray, aged 27 years, testified that his father-in-law, Nicholas Manning of Salem, had some swords, daggers, cutlasses, rapiers, and sword handles and one "halbert" which said Manning said came to 5 li.

4. "Instructions of the Marshall for better inhabling of the Colonell or Governour, to the executing of his or their charges in this present Colony the 22. of June, 1611." In Strachey, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

"That captaine who shall dispose of a halbert, by virtue whereof a Serjeant is knowne, ought to make choise of a man well approued, that hath passed the inferior grades of a resolute spirit, quick apprehension. . . .

"This officer hath in the absense of his superior officers the command of the company, to see them doe their duties, and observe lawes and orders in all things, and punishment of them by his halbert, or otheruise in his discretion, for defect or negligence in any part of order.

"If upon his guard, in the absense of his superior officer, any soldier of his guard shall offend, he shall eyther punish him by his Halbert, or if the qualitie of the offence so deserve. . . ."

5. Archibald Forbes, *The "Black Watch,"* . . . (New York, 1896), p. 114.
6. Strachey, *op. cit.*, p. 21. "All Captaines shall command all Gentlemen, and Common Souldiers in their Companies, to obey their Sergeants, and Corporals, in their offices, without resisting, or iniuring the said Officers, vpon paine, if the iniurie be by words, he the offender shal aske his Officer pardon in the place of Arms, in the mead of the troopes. If by Act, he the offender shall passe the pikes."
7. (Morrisania, N. Y., 1886), p. 205.
8. William Heath, *Memoirs of Maj.-Gen. Heath . . . during the American War. Written by Himself* (Boston, 1798), p. 23.
9. cf. *Connoisseur*, vol. 59 (March, 1921), pp. 167-169.
10. Since the foregoing was written, indications have been received regarding two additional halberds of this type. The first (fig. 10) was discovered in New England by Mr. Pell; it is well preserved and bears the date 1758. The other (fig. 11) was found on the old DeGraff farm near Amsterdam, New York, about 1840 by Lawrence DeGraff, and is now in the collection of Percy M. Van Epps at Amsterdam. This last note comes to me through the kindness of Robert M. Hartley, of the same place.
11. Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association, *Catalogue of the Collection of Relics in Memorial Hall, Deerfield, Massachusetts* (1908).
12. Letter from A. Stainforth, Boston.

WAR DEPARTMENT RECORDS IN THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

The National Archives has recently received its first accession of records from the War Department, an important group embodying the files of three key agencies whose task was the mobilization of morale and material during the World War. The records are those of the Council of National Defense, whose boards and committees were the nuclei of most of the super-agencies set up as the war progressed; the War Industries Board, the greatest of these; and the Committee on Public Information, the "voluntary censorship" agency whose educational and propagandistic efforts covered most of Western Europe, the Orient, and South America, as well as the United States. The records of the War Industries Board constitute the largest group. They include minutes of meetings, rulings, reports, correspondence, questionnaires and compilations of data accumulated by the Board as a result of its supervisory functions in the establishment of priorities, conversion of plant facilities, the conservation of material, price-fixing, and kindred subjects. These documents are, of course, indispensable sources for historians studying industrial mobilization problems of the World War. Together with the Council and Committee files, they tell a good part of the home-front story. Much of the material has been unexplored by historians. In fact, it has only recently been available for exploration.

WAYNE C. GROVER

THE MILITARY LIBRARY

A History of Sea Power, by William Oliver Stevens and Allan Westcott.
(Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran & Company. 1937. Pp. 434.
\$6.00.)

About half of this volume is devoted to the valiant deeds of the British Navy, and easily half of this again to the British Navy in the World War. It tells in a pleasantly readable way and in excellent English of many of the major battles of the British fleets, and it seems to be compiled from standard authorities without any serious attempt at tactical criticism or original research on the part of the authors. The account of the battle of Jutland is full and good. There is not sufficient space in the remainder of the work to do much more than to make us acquainted with the names of persons and places connected with great events in the naval history of the rest of the world. It seems something of a misnomer to title the book *A History of Sea Power* for it gives a very inadequate account of the relationships between national policy, maritime communication, naval strategy and the joint operations of armies and navies. It deals mainly with fleet actions, and betrays no fundamental knowledge of naval affairs.

The jacket to the book tells us that the volume has been adopted at the Naval Academy for use in the historical course for midshipmen and presumably it was originally written chiefly for the instruction and indoctrination of prospective naval officers. If such was the case, it seems regrettable that so little attention is bestowed on the American navy. Upon the work of their predecessors, naval officers of the future must found their *esprit de corps*, and the tradition of devotion to duty and to the nation which is necessary to every efficient navy.

John Paul Jones is an honored hero of our navy, deserving of his splendid shrine at the Naval Academy; yet writing beside it, these authors could only say of him that he fought "an unparalleled fight with the *Serapis*" without so much as naming the American ship or stating which of the two opponents was victor. Our naval war of 1812 was of great psychological importance in the growth of the American people. The English despised us as weaklings and inferiors, or affected to do so, and the American public could find no answer to the charge. Although on a small scale compared to the contemporary war in Europe, our frigate victories and the flotilla actions of Perry and McDonough on the Lakes freed the minds of the American people from the burden of an odious suspicion and gave them a revitalized national confidence. Every American enjoyed a personal success in the victories on the water, yet the authors dispose of the frigate battles with little more than a table of relative weights of batteries and of casualties, and the consequences of Perry's victory are dismissed with the remark that "it assured the safety of the northwestern frontier." Surely a work entitled "Sea Power" might explain why this little naval action caused the British army then occupying the present state of Michigan to retreat in headlong haste to Canada and enabled the American army to follow the flying enemy and defeat him on his own soil. The American Civil War gets about four pages, half of this devoted to the *Merrimac-Monitor* battle. Nothing is said of the great strategic combination of army and navy to cut the Confederacy in two and deprive the two parts of ability to aid each other. Concerning this, it is stated merely that the great blockade extended "over 3000 miles." In a work on sea power this is little indeed to say of a strategic measure unexampled in size and success.

In regard to the British Navy the work is good, so far as it goes, but it is scarcely a history of the sea power, either of England or of any other country.

WILLIAM L. RODGERS.

C. S. Ironclad Virginia, With Data References for a Scale Model, by S. B. Besse. (Newport News, Va.: The Mariners' Museum. 1937. Pp. 47. 50 cents.)

Data on the appearance of the *Virginia* is slight and conflicting. There even is doubt whether her name originally was "Merrimac" or "Merrimack."

Unlike her famous opponent, the *Monitor*, she was never photographed. However, the Mariners' Museum has constructed a model, and offers all the material it has been able to assemble, including reproductions of most contemporary plans and sketches. It would seem that this includes about all that is known concerning the external appearance of this famous vessel, so that the pamphlet should be useful to the naval historian, as well as to the model builder to whom its primary appeal is made. A similar booklet concerning the *Monitor* has previously been issued.

DON RUSSELL.

Marshal Ney: A Dual Life, by Le Gette Blythe (New York: Stackpole Sons. 1937. Pp. 356. \$3.50.)

Like the double life it describes, this book has a double purpose: to give the story of the life of Marshal Ney and to prove that Peter Stuart Ney, a Frenchman who lived in America from 1816 to 1846, really was Marshal Ney himself, whose life friends had saved by bringing about a faked execution. The first twenty-two chapters are devoted to the former purpose, the last nine chapters and three appendices to the latter.

In his introduction Frank P. Graham, President of the University of North Carolina, says of the author, "Mr. Le Gette Blythe, while making no pretensions to historical scholarship, has done the workmanlike job of a trained journalist." It is evident indeed that a journalist, not a scholar, wrote this book. The chapters dealing with the life of Marshal Ney are little more than a rewriting of other biographies, and mere popular ones at that, of Ney and Napoleon, obviously cast to meet the public taste and larded with imaginary conversations. The authorities constantly cited for this part of the story are Atteridge, *The bravest of the brave* and Ludwig, *Napoleon*, neither of which may be considered unimpeachable historical evidence. A few only of the footnotes refer to primary sources, those most frequently quoted being the *Memoirs of Marshal Ney*, put together by his son after his supposed death, and Ida Saint-Elme's *Memoirs of a Contemporary*.

In this biography there is little which is new, for it is largely a reiteration of the oft-told story of Napoleon's campaigns written in such a way as to give it popular appeal by a journalist who understands so little of military phraseology as to speak of "the right end of the line" of battle (page 183). Everywhere the action is made to revolve around Ney, even in events in which he took only a routine part. It is more than probable, however, that this method of biography will enhance the sales of the book.

In the latter part is told the life-story of Peter Stuart Ney, who for thirty-one years supported himself by teaching school in the rural districts of North and South Carolina. Here special emphasis is laid upon the likeness of P. S. Ney to the Marshal, upon his statements that he was Marshal Ney, upon the

habits and eccentricities which would indicate that the two really were the same person, and upon the similarity of their handwritings. The authorities referred to in this part of the book are largely the sayings of individuals who knew P. S. Ney (quoted from James A. Weston, *Historic Doubts as to the Execution of Marshal Ney*), verbal accounts given to the author by old men and women, and the testimony of handwriting experts.

Here again is evident the pen of the journalist. The story of Marshal Ney's second life is resurrected from an old book by a clergyman who knew P. S. Ney and thoroughly believed that he was the Marshal. Owing to the fact that the author piles evidence upon evidence, there is much repetition in this part of the work, but the impression on the most critical by this accumulation of testimony is that there must be much truth in the thesis which the author advances, while the casual reader doubtless will be satisfied that he has proved his case.

Although this book adds nothing to military history, it does make interesting reading. It contains eight full-page illustrations, a limited bibliography, but possesses no index.

ALFRED HASBROUCK.

The Armor of Galiot de Genouilhac, by Stephen V. Grancsay. (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art. 1937. Pp. 51. \$2.50.)

This study was prepared by the Curator of Arms and Armor of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Mr. Stephen V. Grancsay, who is today one of the few experts in the United States who can speak with authority on medieval arms and armor. The clarity of the study, the illustrations, both in line drawings and photographs, the tabulations of characteristics and indeed the typography, are all so thorough that every student of arms will acknowledge gratefully the work of the author and the patronage of the Museum.

De Genouilhac was a distinguished member of one of the great feudal families of France. He lived from 1465 to 1546, during a glorious period, and served as a warrior under Charles VIII. He was Master of Artillery under Louis XII and Francis I. The armor studied in this book was inherited by the present family of the Duc d'Uzès from whom it was acquired by the Metropolitan Museum. The armor itself possesses many unusual features which are not present in the harnesses of Henry VIII, although in many details there is similarity. Mr. Grancsay presents these characteristics in fascinating style and has embellished his work with minute studies of construction, of material and hardness, of measurements and weights, and of decoration. This study is most enthusiastically commended to every student of military history, especially to those whose love for it antedates the era of the internal combustion engine and even the age of the gun carriage of Gribeauval.

L. A. CODD.

The Gun-Founders of England, by Charles ffoulkes, C.B., O.B.E., F.S.A.
(Cambridge: at the University Press; New York: The Macmillan Company. 1937. Pp. 134. \$7.50.)

A truly unusual book recently has been issued by the Cambridge University Press, titled *The Gun-Founders of England* and written by Charles ffoulkes, Master of Armouries of the Tower of London. All too often fine pieces of historical literature, such as this, go unappreciated and unread because the first reaction of those persons who do not feel that they qualify as experts or enthusiasts in the field or ordnance is that such books must be too technical to understand and too narrowly conceived to please a generalized interest. Certainly no conclusion could be further from the truth—particularly in this case.

One cannot too highly commend Mr. ffoulkes' complete and painstaking research concerning the processes employed during the past six centuries, with particular emphasis upon those of the past two centuries, in the making of cannon in the principal countries of Europe. He could not have restricted himself to England alone, because he found it impossible to separate the practices and the knowledge used and possessed by the founders there from those of the founders on the Continent. The masters of the production of ordnance were shuffled about Europe in such a fashion that German, Italian, Belgian, Dutch, and English artisans and designers were everywhere employed indiscriminately. Mr. ffoulkes makes it clear, without specific words to that effect, that these gun-founders, since about 1250, were faced continuously with problems just a little beyond their knowledge or their immediate capacity; yet this fact was at once their inspiration. The book is a tribute to the achievements they made in the face of these difficulties and for the foundation they laid for development in other fields.

Until very recently the metallurgist never encountered any problems even slightly comparable with those he tried to solve in providing a metal that would be suitable for use in cannon. Likewise, the founder and the forger discovered their greatest difficulties lay with the casting of cannon or the forging of the various bars, hoops, tubes, and jackets which went into the making of built-up guns; and, particularly during the past seventy-five years, the problems facing the designer in providing complete carriages and general equipment for artillery have been so great as to tax his ingenuity to its limit. The result has been that our principal developments in metallurgy, in machine design, in the manner of casting great masses of metal—masses never used in the peaceful arts—and fashioning them to extremely fine dimensions, have literally come out of man's unfortunate tendency to solve his most acute economic problems by the process of warfare.

The achievements in ordnance of the past fifty years have been so spectacular as to somewhat overshadow the long, slow development of centuries

before. The production of a Paris Gun during the World War, with which it was possible to bombard the city of Paris from a distance of seventy-five miles, is not really appreciated for just what it was: the culmination of six hundred years of constant striving. Nevertheless, this unique piece of artillery itself was but another demonstration of the character of the problems with which all previous metallurgists, founders, mathematicians, and designers had been confronted. The able men who worked on these problems of the Paris gun never adequately solved one of them, yet their attempts to do so proved of no small value to the peace time arts which followed.

The book is produced in the customarily fine style of the Cambridge University Press, it is beautifully illustrated and is, all in all, a splendid piece of research. Its title hardly does it sufficient credit.

HENRY W. MILLER.

The Crusades, by Hilaire Belloc. (Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company. 1937. Pp. 331. \$3.00.)

In his characteristically firm and graceful prose, the copious Belloc tells the story of the Crusades as military history. What is astonishing in so prolific a writer is the extreme clarity of the outline. Unfortunately the book is marred by careless editing. There is no list of maps and plans, and there are blemishes in the text of a sort which the staff of any competent publisher ought to have spotted. Nevertheless, the general effect remains.

The subject is the great First Crusade which took Jerusalem from the Moslem, then the effort to retain the Holy Land for Christendom including the Second Crusade, and finally the loss of Jerusalem to Saladin. The remaining Crusades including the Third are rightly treated as a mere epilogue.

We are given first a brief statement of the issue at stake—Islam against Christendom, and the occasion for its coming to battle—that is the preaching of the Crusade in Western Europe after the first great victory of the Turks over the Byzantines. We are next shown the nature and organization of the contending forces; on the Christian side loosely disciplined feudal militias intended for local defence but now transmogrified into volunteers fighting at an enormous distance from their homes for the common purpose of Christendom. Again on the Christian side the important component was the small proportion of mounted and heavily armored men, that is the knights, while

infantry were subordinate but necessary. Among the Turks all were mounted, using primarily the bow and secondarily the scimiter. To know the armed forces of a period is to know much of its political and social structure, even of its morals and religion, as our own "social" historians may some day discover to their astonishment. By far the greater part of the book, nearly five sixths, is concerned with the narrative of the campaigns.

Naturally a man of Belloc's culture and breadth of mind sees the nonsense of absolute pacifism for what it is. He begins: "Human affairs are decided through conflict of ideas which often resolve themselves by conflict under arms." Again when dealing with the disasters which occasioned the Crusade he speaks of the "'intellectual' disease comparable to the movement called today in Europe by the barbaric names of 'Pacifism' and 'Anti-Militarism.'" The coming into power of such politicians as batten upon movements of that kind undermined the whole new strength which the Macedonian Emperors had built up. The last fighting Emperor could no longer be certain of proper support in the field against the Turk. . . . All the while ran that rising hiss of academic hostility to the military spirit." Hence the deadly Eleventh Century peril to our civilization, which peril the Crusaders so gallantly thrust back.

Strategically, Belloc explains the defeat of the Crusading effort by the failure to occupy even a single sector of Syria completely from the Mediterranean to the desert. That province is a narrow belt or bridge, four hundred miles long but never more than eighty and in places less than forty miles wide, which united the Moslems of Egypt, North Africa and Spain with their co-religionists of the farther East. Had the Crusaders anywhere consolidated the entire width of that bridge, as they might easily have done in the first flush of their great strength, Islam would have been strategically cut in two. Unfortunately for the future of our race and religion they were at that moment intent not so much upon strategy as upon the immediate recovery of the Holy Sepulchre.

The author is free from the vile and all too common academic trick of unjustly abusing our ancestors for the benefit of their enemies. Thus while he rightly deplores the massacre which followed the storming of Jerusalem, he is at pains to tell us the insults which provoked it: "... all the walls were crowded with the Negroes and the Saracens, jeering at them and their chanting—planting crosses in full sight of the Christians, which they spat upon and otherwise defiled, until the warriors singing in columns below cried out that they would soon avenge this dishonor done to Jesus Christ." And so they did.

HOFFMAN NICKERSON.

Custer's Indian Battles, by Colonel Charles Francis Bates. (Bronxville, N.Y.: published by the author. 1936. Pp. 38. \$1.00.)

The Custer Fight: Some Criticisms of General E. S. Godfrey's "Custer's Last Battle," in the Century Magazine for January, 1892; and of Mrs. Elizabeth Custer's Pamphlet Issued in 1921, by Fred Dustin. (Privately printed; sales representative, E. A. Brininstool, Hollywood, California. 1936 [?]. Pp. 33. \$1.00.)

Major M. A. Reno Vindicated, from a Letter Written in 1925 by Colonel W. A. Graham, U. S. Army, with comments by E. A. Brininstool. (Hollywood, California: privately published by E. A. Brininstool. 1936. Pp. 30. \$1.00.)

From Custer, Reno, and Benteen, the three senior officers, down to Curley, the Crow scout who may have survived the battle, and Comanche, the horse that almost certainly did, there seems to be no figure connected with the Little Big Horn disaster who is not the subject of hot and acrimonious dispute.

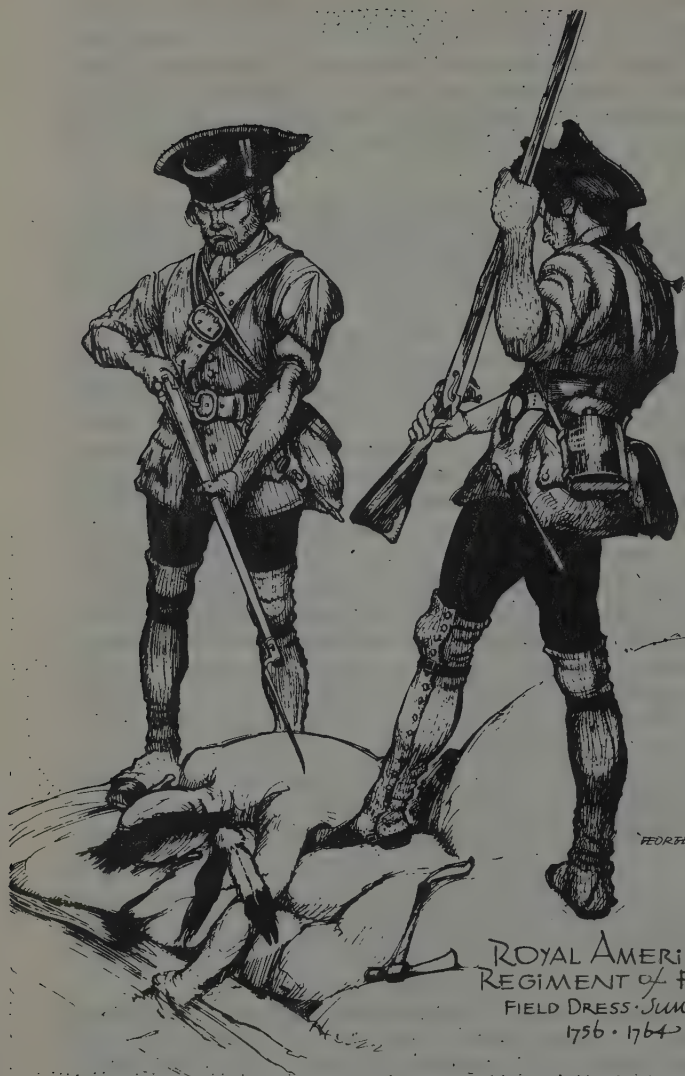
Colonel Bates's large paper pamphlet, issued in a format somewhat similar to that of the service publications, is, with its seventeen illustrations and two maps, unusually attractive. It refutes many of the more absurd Custer canards and theories, and should not be overlooked by those interested in the problem. It is a careful study of Custer's Indian campaigns, and is understood to be the forerunner of a more complete biography which Colonel Bates is preparing. At times, as for example in the discussion of General George Crook on page 30, a more even, judicious tone would be an improvement.

There is little of judicious tone about Mr. Dustin's closely-printed, double-columned pamphlet; it is frankly a defense of Major Reno, based, for the most part, on evidence placed before the court of enquiry. The criticisms of Mrs. Custer seem captious; those of General Godfrey may be useful as a stimulus to further research, but might have achieved that purpose equally well without having become nearly so ill-tempered.

The case for Major Reno is given much more fairly in the letter by Colonel Graham, author of *The Story of the Little Big Horn*, in a brief, but logical, presentation of that phase of the action. The title is perhaps an exaggeration, for the vindication is by no means conclusive. However, it is Colonel Graham's contention that Reno, up to the move across the river, "had done only what a capable commander should have done under the circumstances."

While the limitations of each of these contributions to the Custer literature must constantly be borne in mind, certain it is that to the student of the subject each of them, after its own fashion, is valuable. One is, nevertheless, after such stormy fare, tempted to resort to Sir Roger de Coverly's refuge that "there is much to be said on both sides."

DON RUSSELL.



ROYAL AMERICAN
REGIMENT OF FOOT
FIELD DRESS - SUMMER
1756 - 1764

NOTES AND QUERIES

GOVERNORS ISLAND AND THE ROYAL AMERICAN REGIMENT. Participating in the recent celebration commemorating the three hundredth anniversary of the purchase, from the Indians, of Governors Island, in New York harbor, were detachments from some of the most completely modernized units of the United States Army. In this connection it is interesting to reflect upon the fact that the island first was garrisoned, some twenty years prior to the outbreak of the American Revolution, by the 60th (Royal American) Regiment of Foot, which still is today a unit of the British Army, now known as the King's Royal Rifle Corps. As recently as 1921 the officers and men of that regiment presented to Governors Island an old regimental color which now hangs, part of one of the finest collections of battle-flags in this country, in the Chapel of St. Cornelius the Centurion on the island.

In 1755 the regiment was raised in New York and Philadelphia as a line infantry regiment, by the Earl of Loudoun, then commanding the British forces in North America. Its first title was the 62nd, or Royal American Regiment of Foot, but this was changed in 1757 to the 60th Foot. The men were uniformed in scarlet coats with blue facings, blue breeches and scarlet waistcoats—along the same general lines, indeed, as the other foot regiments of the army, save that all lace trimmings were omitted out of respect for the wooded nature of this country. During summer campaigns the men were allowed to march and fight without coats, carrying only a portion of their normally heavy equipment.

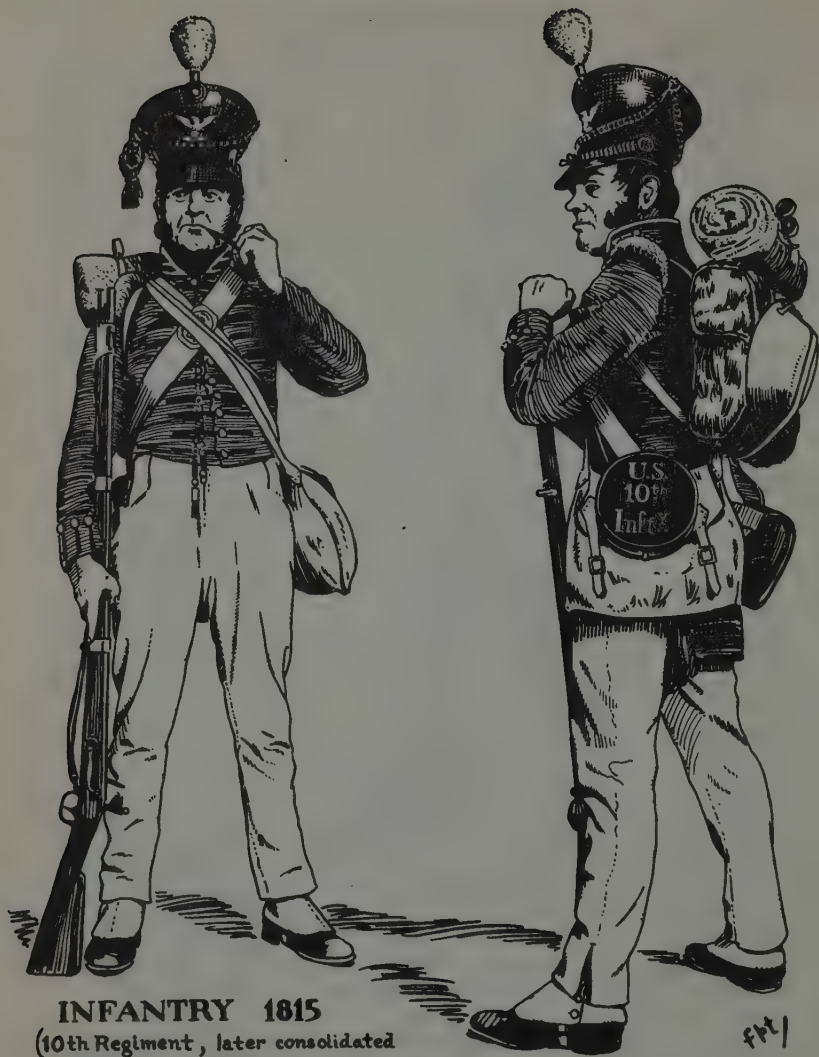
The Royal Americans served with distinction on the North American continent during the Seven Years' War with France, but at the time of the Revolutionary War the services of the battalions of the regiment were confined to duty in the West Indies. Near the close of the eighteenth century, when rifle regiments were introduced into the British Army, part of the 60th was the first unit to be armed with the new weapon, and to be clothed in the green uniform adopted by such regiments in order to render themselves less visible when in skirmish line. As a means toward the same end, the custom of carrying colors into battle was abandoned by the riflemen, and in 1824 the 60th Foot had their colors taken away altogether. Today British rifle regiments still lack colors and, when in full dress, wear distinctive uniforms of dark green.

Up to the time when battle-honors were granted for the World War, the King's Royal Rifle Corps had gained a greater number of these distinctions than any other regiment of the British Army. It is the custom for battle-honors to be displayed upon the regimental color and, since the late war, on the King's color also, when space is lacking on the other. Because the King's Royal Rifles carry no colors, their honors are listed upon the regimental badge. Included among them are "Louisburg" and "Quebec, 1759." The regimental motto, *Celer et Audax*, was conferred by General Wolfe in recognition of the "alertness and intrepidity" of the grenadiers of the 2nd and 3rd battalions before Quebec.

Several histories of the regiment have been written, but the most exhaustive and accurate, by far, is that of Lewis Butler, *The Annals of the King's Royal Rifle Corps*, which consists of five volumes with an appendix covering uniforms, badges, and equipment by S. M. Milne and Major General Astley Terry.

EMIL JOHN RUCKERT

In connection with the Governors Island Tercentenary Celebration, mentioned above, we wish to call to the attention of our readers a most interesting booklet compiled in the office of the Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2, Headquarters, 2nd Corps Area, under the direction of Major R. Ernest Dupuy: *Governors Island: Its History and Development, 1637-1937*. It was published privately by the Governors Island Club and contains a detailed history of the island from the date of its purchase from the Indians to the present time. It is illustrated with many maps and pictures and contains a bibliography of principal sources.



INFANTRY 1815

(10th Regiment, later consolidated
with 12th and renumbered 8th Regiment,
disbanded 1821.)

ftt/

THE DUEL ON THE WAR BONNET. We have had a letter from Mr. E. A. Brininstool criticising certain details of Mr. Russell's article in the last issue of the JOURNAL which describes the Indian fight on the War Bonnet. He objects specifically to calling the Indian a "leader," to the statement that he probably was killed by Cody, and to the fact that the author appeared to him both to overemphasize the "duel" idea and to render Cody too much of a hero. His letter continues:

"To offset this fairy tale, I have sent . . . an account of this affair which I secured, through the Indian Agent of the Northern Cheyenne Reservation in May, 1929, from an Indian named Beaver Heart, who happened to be the companion of this Yellow Hand on the day of the trouble; also the sworn statement of the sister of Yellow Hand, who was also with those Indians who left the reservation and were chased back by the troops. . . .

"This story originally appeared in *Outdoor Life* for February, 1930. . . .

"Of course I assume no responsibility for its truth, but there was no reason for those Indians to tell any falsehoods about the occurrence, and I believe that they told exactly what they saw happen. . . ."

All reminiscences set down long after an event are necessarily highly suspect. Certainly Indian accounts obtained through an interpreter form no exception to this rule. Nevertheless we feel that these statements are, in all probability, honest attempts at accurate recollection, and that, since they are closely related to the subject of Mr. Russell's description, they could be valuable appendices to his article. Unfortunately, problems of space do not allow their inclusion in this issue, but it is our hope to reprint them at an early date.

UNIFORMS OF THE OLD 10th INFANTRY IN 1815. Remarkably little is known of the appearance of our regulars who fought in the War of 1812, to say nothing of the various militia units. The accompanying sketch has been based on a wide variety of data and is presented chiefly as an appeal to the membership for further information. The single-breasted coat for the infantry dates from about 1810 and the leather shako from about 1814. Neither of these, nor for that matter any other portions of the equipment, are adequately described in regulations and there are almost no contemporary paintings, prints, or sketches of the infantryman of this period.

FIELD HOSPITAL MATERIEL OF THE A. E. F. I am glad to outline in the following paragraphs all the data I possess regarding the materiel which originally belonged to that unit of the Medical Corps known as Mobile Field Hospital No. 12, and which now forms part of my collection of World War objects.

On September 18, 1918, at Parc des Princes, France, the French Hospital Service turned over to the Medical Corps of the A. E. F. a miscellaneous assortment of field hospital equipment the principal items of which were three specially equipped Renault trucks, two Ford ambulances and two other trucks for supplies. Also included in this lot were two laundry trailers for handling bed linen and the like. Of particular interest were two of the Renaults, one of which contained a complete field dressing sterilizing unit, while the other housed a field X-ray apparatus. Each of these was mounted on the five-ton Renault chassis and each was equipped with a 115 volt D.C. generator driven from the crankshaft. The generator on the sterilizer was designed to furnish, in addition, current for the hospital and operating tents, that on the X-ray truck independently supplying the power for its own facilities. This latter truck was fitted with a complete dark-room and with compartments for the storage of X-ray plates. It carried, in addition to its regular equipment, about 500 feet of cable with stringer sections of sockets for lighting the tents. While the X-ray equipment is now unquestionably out of date, it nevertheless was the best obtainable in its day. On the other hand, the equipment of the field sterilizing unit, which weighs in the neighbourhood of seven tons when assembled, is standard today in many operating-rooms. There is a steam boiler, mounted at the back of the truck, which furnished sterile water, as well as pressure for the bandage, dressing and instrument sterilizers.

This group of pieces became Mobile Field Hospital No. 12, under the command of Captain C. T. Chamberlain, M. C. Assigned as his assistants were Captain W. F. Holbrook, First Lieutenants Chalrey Wull, William Jones and Charles Caverly, and Second Lieutenant Ray Campbell. The unit served in Belgian sectors and, after the signing of the armistice, was used for a time as a base hospital. It was disbanded on June 24, 1919, at St. Corneville.

The post-war history of the equipment is curious indeed. When the outfit was disbanded, some of its materiel, including the sterilizer and X-ray trucks and the two trailers, together with a French wagon ambulance and a French medical supply cart, was shipped to the Smithsonian Institution at Washington, D. C. Owing to lack of space the Institution was unable to accept the equipment, which was thereupon removed to the New Cumberland General Supply Base for storage. There it remained for some sixteen years until shortage of space again caused its removal; this time to be sold at auction as junk. Although there were a considerable number of bidders I was fortunate enough to get two of the items at that time. Later I found it possible to obtain two more, but the laundry trailers were lost to me—destroyed as scrap metal. The four items I do possess are the sterilizer, the X-ray unit and the two French waggons. . . .

These items may be seen, together with numerous other objects related to World War history at the Jarret Museum at Workman farm, near Moorestown, New Jersey. All of my materiel has been moved to this location, creating a housing problem of considerable magnitude since there are 7600 pieces of ordnance alone. The collection is open to the public during the week.

I should welcome any other information on the history of the trucks mentioned above; their service, capacities or shortcomings.

G. BURLING JARRETT

Queries

Replies to questions which appear in the JOURNAL are invited. They should be addressed to the secretary, 643 Park Avenue, New York, N. Y.

11. CADET UNIFORM, U. S. M. A. From what source was the present gray uniform of the West Point cadet derived and what major changes have been made in it since its adoption? EMIL JOHN RUCKERT.

12. CODES AND CIPHERS. What is the difference between codes and ciphers as used in the military service? P. H. B.

13. CONFEDERATE RATIONS. What beverage was normally issued to Louisiana troops during the Civil War, and what was the effect, if any, on these soldiers of the lack of coffee? Was any attempt made to furnish these men with special rations? DETMAR H. FINKE.

14. COTTON CLOTHING IN THE CONFEDERATE ARMY. To what extent was cotton clothing worn by Southern troops and at what period did the issue thereof become more or less general? Was the efficiency of the units so clothed at all impaired while serving in northern Virginia? DETMAR H. FINKE.

15. CHIN STRAPS. Why is the chin strap worn today by some units, such as the cadets at West Point, under the lower lip instead of the chin? Does it actually help to keep the hat on the head? C. F.

16. KNAPSACKS. When was the wearing of the knapsack, squarely over the shoulders, first recorded? During most of the eighteenth century the suspension equipment commonly consisted of two haversacks slung over the right shoulder, together with a cartridge box and slings for sidearms. One of these bags was normally of undressed leather and the other of linen, the former for extra clothing, shoes and the like while



MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

From the painting by Rembrandt Peale
(Reproduced by permission of Herbert Lee Pratt, Esq.,
through the courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library.)

the latter carried the issued rations. At some time prior to 1800 the leather haversack was redesigned to be worn on the back, usually with a blanket or overcoat strapped on top. M. T.

17. CONNECTICUT, GOVERNOR'S HORSE GUARDS. I have been commissioned to paint a portrait of a man in the original uniform of the First Company, Governor's Horse Guards. I am familiar with the information contained in James B. Howard, *The Origin and Fortunes of Troop B*, but I have been unable to locate any further information. Could you furnish any material on the uniform, particularly the headdress, that was worn by this unit about 1800? A. S. T.

Replies

3. GERMAN GUN MARKINGS. Information concerning such markings can be obtained through the German War Ministry. The interpretation of the numbers given in the query have been courteously furnished by this Ministry. They are as follows:

153 R 11.194	11th Company, 153rd Infantry Regiment, weapon No. 194.
1 M IV 2.71	2nd Light Munitions Column of the IV Army Corps, weapon No. 71.
R. B. T. 13.52	Recruit Depot, Bridge Train of the 13th Infantry Division, weapon No. 52.
36 R 6.147	6th Company, 36th Infantry Regiment, weapon No. 147.
13 T. P. 6.13	6th Subsistence Column of the 13th Train Battalion, weapon No. 13.
G. F. 1.3	1st Company, Garde-Fusilier Regiment, weapon No. 3.

MAJOR TRUMAN SMITH

9. CHIN STRAPS. The chin strap, in one form or another, has been used by soldiers since time immemorial. The Roman helmet was often retained by this means. Its real use, as we know it today, commenced shortly after 1800, when the armies of the world discarded the soft cocked hat and arrayed themselves in the high, rigid shako. As these caps grew taller and heavier it became increasingly necessary to wear under the chin a strap, frequently ornamented with metal scales adding not a little to the splendor of the shako. The practical use of the strap has continued down to our own day. In the American army most officers carry two chin straps on their caps; one for decoration when the other is in use. The bulk of the enlisted men's caps have at least one practical strap, and some sort of strap is absolutely necessary with the steel helmet. M. T.

10. PORTRAITS OF GENERAL HARRISON. After having carefully examined the reproduction of Rembrandt Peale's portrait of General Harrison, I am of the opinion that the uniform depicted is most certainly of the type commonly worn between 1810 and 1820. The single-breasted coat, the tall open collar, the high-necked waistcoat, and the herring-bone arrangement of the buttonholes, all are distinctive of the War of 1812. It is, of course, possible that the portrait originally was painted earlier, but it is extremely unlikely that the uniform could have been added prior to 1810; and it is out of the question for Harrison to have been wearing it when he was serving under General Wayne.

This estimate of the period of the painting is further borne out by the short brown hair and the sideburns of the sitter. In 1793 almost all officers wore long hair or wigs, the order for cutting the hair not having been issued until 1801. It is interesting to observe the amount of braiding which is shown on the coat. Such embroidery was permitted by the Dress Regulations of June 28, 1814, but, being most expensive and non-compulsory, apparently it was seldom indulged. Nevertheless, another portrait of General Harrison, now in the Union League Club of Philadelphia, attributed to Thomas Wilcocks Sully, shows him wearing, even at a somewhat later period, a coat with full embroidery. F. P. T.